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CONTENTS.

ASSOCIATIONS and COMMITTEES 169.
WESTMINSTER MEETING. Speech of Mr Fox 171. Extracts from Mr Turner's and other ſpeeches 174.
An inſtance of QUICK GROWTH 176.
Britiſh and Iriſh TAXES compared 176.
TREATY between Ch. II. and the Dutch 174.
PARLIAMENT. On the negligence of the receivers of the land-tax 186. On motions for accounts of all places for lives, or during pleaſure, and of all penſions, with the names of the grantees, and the ſum to each ib. On government-contracts 188. On petitions relating to grievances ib. On a proteſt againſt a petition 189. On a commiſſion of accounts 191. Mr Burke's reformation-bill preſented 194. Purport of it ib. Proceedings 196. On certain offices, viz. auditor and tellers of exchequer 196. the third ſecretary of ſtate 198. and the board of trade ib. On parliament's right to reſume any part of the civil liſt 197. Speaker on this ſubject, and on petitions and aſſociations 199.
HISTORY 1778. Great Britain 177. An omiſſion remarked 180.
SELECT MAXIMS 180.
Eulogium on Mr MACKENZIE 180.
A LAW-SUIT ſuddenly terminated 181.
An account of the MASSACRE of the Engliſh garriſon of Fort W. Henry 181.
An USEFUL LITERATURE ſociety 184.
Boerhaave's arcana of PHYSIC 186.
An ARITHMETICAL TOAST 199.
AMERICA. Americans in diſtreſs 200. Gen. Clinton in S. Carolina 201. Accounts of affairs at New York in winter, by Gen. Knyphauſen ib. and Gen. Pattiſon 202. Armed force there 204.
BOOKS. A letter to Lord Braxfield 205. Letter to the people of Laurencekirk 207.
POETRY. On the abuſe of Rhetoric 209. Three poems by Mr Mackenzie, viz. On York cathedral ib. Hor. b 3. ode 3. 210. and The Dream 210. Explanation of a riddle 211. Ode on the death of a goldfinch ib. An imitation of Shenſtone ib.
HISTORICAL AFFAIRS 212.—224.

To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

Men and Brethren, *March* 24.

PRay liſten to an old man, who has ſeen much, and read more, and made his obſervations as he went along through life.

It appears to me, that the preſent times of Aſſociations and Committees [188.] are meant to do what you are not to ſee till it is too late to be any longer hindered. Ambitious, reſtleſs, deſigning, diſappointed men, eaſily, in this country, have always prevailed to inflame honeſt, uninformed multitudes. Pretences are never wanting. I am perſuaded, that, in the preſent caſe, not the tenth part of the people have meddled, or will meddle, with the fly things now going forwards. But thoſe who have meddled have the very inſolence to call themſelves the voice of the people; and, embodying themſelves thus in large numbers, will always be able to overbear moderate, thinking, unembodied people, till their own whimſical, raſh, or wicked ends are accompliſhed; and then a few, comparatively a very ſmall part of the preſent actors, will force themſelves into power, and maſter you all in their own unconſtitutional way. You may perceive already that it is meant to bully parliament, and to force their votes and their expreſſions. It being legal and conſtitutional to petition, and to meet for that purpoſe, provided only that it be for legal, conſtitutional, and innocent purpoſes, to be carried on alſo by only legal, conſtitutional,

nal, and innocent means, people have met and drawn up petitions; but the moment there appears an illegal purpoſe, or any illegal means are uſed, ſuch things become criminal, and the whole nature of them is changed: but if, in the abſtract idea, it be truly legal to aſſociate for the purpoſe only of petitioning, it can never be legal to go farther.

When I ſee committees of correſpondence formed in this manner, namely, ſome few active men draw up a liſt of committee-men, which is read in a tumultuous manner, and, without any examination, choice, or ſelection, made by the meeting at large, the meeting at large is ſurpriſed into a choice; this provincial congreſs is choſen by itſelf,—is there any thing wiſe, deliberate, or proper in this? It is all done at one meeting. Their reſolutions are as tumultuouſly formed as the committee. Is it legal or conſtitutional, without any proof of facts, to condemn adminiſtration in this tumultuous way? If the gentlemen who will act, would act with decency, and legally, they would not begin with aſſertions injurious to the honour of adminiſtration, blackening them, in a barbarous, unconſtitutional way, with a tyranny fit only for inquiſitions in Spain. Every legal and conſtitutional tribunal in this country always ſuppoſes the accuſed to be innocent till after conviction. If the petitions had not been meant by ſome deſigning men to inflame you, at the firſt outſet, even to madneſs, they would have expreſſed only a deſire that reviſion and inquiry be made into certain facts, eſpecially into the expenditure of public money, not beginning with loading it with injurious qualifications, ſuch as *ſquandering*, *ſhameful ſquandering*, &c. This cannot poſſibly be known to the multitude, nor to any body till it is fairly proved. It has not yet been proved; but it is roundly, and, as yet, moſt injuriouſly aſſerted. What have theſe committees ſince done, which ought to alarm you for the conſtitution? Do you not ſee, that if any man dares to expreſs his apprehenſions concerning theſe aſſociations, as things appear to him, if even it be a member of parliament ſtanding up in his place, according to the liberty the Bill of Rights gives him by law, he ſhall not preſume to uſe that liberty, but preſently out comes a reſolve of ſome or more committees, to cenſure ſuch lawful liberty; as if they were already, what ſome among them mean they ſhall be, the moſt formidable tribunal in the kingdom. Now, nothing that is ſaid in parliament is to be cenſured in any other court or place. You and I have reaſon to wiſh, that that place may no where be found; but this is not their meaning. They appeal to the great mind of the people at large, againſt one of the moſt conſtitutional of all liberties, againſt poſitive law, by the moſt inſolent of all low quibble. Their only excuſe is, that they are no *court* or *place*. Do they wiſh us to look upon them as nothing? Indeed they do not. Kings and kings' courts dare not break in upon the Bill of Rights, but theſe embodied infractors dare.

They have made a new law, that, to impute evil deſigns to them, is to break the peace of the kingdom. They want, it ſeems, the excluſive liberty of ſpeaking what they pleaſe, and will not permit others the ſame liberty. There is a horrible, unfair inſolence in this their very outſet. When any of their meaſures in parliament are not complied with entirely; if any motion made at their inſtigation, is amended; there preſently comes out ſome reſolve in theſe committees, as if they were the fountain of law. Is this conſtitutional? I appeal to the honeſt, thinking part of the people.

I ſhall not now enter into the detail of the manner of getting theſe petitions ſigned. Whoever knows things as they are, need not be told by me, that thouſands of names have been at all times put to petitions in a tumultuous way, by various deceptions. Several people have ſigned theſe preſent petitions, on being aſſured, that, in a ſhort time after theſe petitions ſhall have been ſigned, the taxes will be taken off their ſhoulders; that honeſt men only will be employed; that rogues, who have plundered the nation, will refund, &c. I am ſure nothing can be more a lie than the firſt, about the taxes; it is impoſſible to be true. I have no better opinion of the principles of thoſe not employed, than of the others; it is a matter of mere opinion. An inquiry into the expenditure of public money, can alone help us to prove whether any, or who, are the rogues that have plundered the nation.

Theſe provincial congreſſes have deputed themſelves into a general congreſs, which met the firſt time on Saturday, March 11. at the St Alban's tavern,

London

London [162.]. How often this general congreſs ſhall meet, and what their reſolves and doings will be, a ſhort time will ſhew. If they go on as they have begun, I expect ſtrange things. Be ye on your guard againſt them; ye have not choſen them, but they have choſen themſelves. They are embodied, ye are not. They have their Orators and their Lawyers, their Lords and their Dukes. As ſeparate men, many of them, perhaps, are perſons of no evil deſigns; but, when once embodied, all hiſtory, in this and every other country, ſhews, that uncommon aſſociations have produced great miſchief. Do you know how far theſe will carry matters? The far greater part of themſelves do not.

Be on your guard, my fellow-countrymen, watch them earneſtly, or you will find an iron net of unuſual ſtrength will be all at once over you, in the confuſion of all preſent law and order. So it was in Cromwell's time, here. So it was in France, during the League there, 200 years ago. So it is, alas! juſt now in America. No liberty of ſpeaking, or writing, or printing; no liberty of votes; no ſafety from political committees of ſafety; firſt proſcribing and qualifying their opponents as obnoxious men, then impriſoning and fining according to their wild pleaſure, then murdering and robbing, with or without any form, but the paſſion of the preſent moment. Ye may howl and lament then with cauſe, but in vain, and too late. I cannot enough repeat, Be on your guard; the worſt men will be the moſt forward, ſeize the rule over you, and already, perhaps, devour you in ſpeculation.

AN OLD FREEHOLDER.

Proceedings at Weſtminſter-hall, on Thurſday, April 6. at a meeting of the Weſtminſter committee, where were aſſembled, of freemen, and others, a crowd of people not leſs than 6000.

A Few reſolutions having been read, which the committee had formed in the courſe of their private meetings, and ſome other preliminaries adjuſted; the Hon. Charles Fox, who was in the chair, ſtepped forward, and addreſſed the aſſembly in the following manner.

"GENTLEMEN, I meet you this day in purſuance of our adjournment, to take into conſideration ſome further meaſures for the promotion of the common cauſe, in which we are all ſo much concerned. It is with great pleaſure that I inform you, that our laſt meeting was not entirely ineffectual, but that there were ſome conſequences followed from it, which ought to give us hopes and ſatisfaction. I cannot tell you, that the event was in every reſpect adequate to our juſt expectations; but ſuch as it was, I rejoiced to ſee it, as it convinced me of the importance of the people, and of the weight they have in the Houſe of Commons, even as it is at preſent conſtituted, when they chuſe to exert themſelves.

Gentlemen, I preſented your petition, according to your united requeſt the laſt time I had the honour to meet you here. From the inſtant that it was preſented, we ceaſed to hear theſe honeſt dictates of the people's feelings treated with opprobrious language and diſregard. Petitions were no longer held in a trivial or ludicrous eſtimation, but even bad men felt a neceſſity of attending to the voice of their fellow-citizens with complaiſance and reſpect. If they refuſed to comply with every article of their contents, they did not, however, perſevere in looking upon them as light and inſignificant. They then, Gentlemen, began to acknowledge your voice as worth liſtening to; and we gained ſo much from a wicked adminiſtration, and its equally wicked adherents, to be raiſed above their ridicule and contempt. This is the fair ſide of the conſequences attending my late exertions in your cauſe. More I cannot add; for though they behaved towards your petition with neceſſary civility and decorum, yet that was all we could extort from them. They have been able, by the help of that moſt corrupt and dangerous influence with which the crown is at this time inveſted, to defeat the ends and objects of your remonſtrance in a great degree, and to carry a majority againſt the friends of œconomy, freedom, and good order, in the adminiſtration of your affairs.

Gentlemen, you all recollect the ſplendid and flouriſhing ſituation in which this country was, previous to the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the throne; you all know, for you have feeling cauſe to know it, that it is now at the very loweſt ebb of political diſtreſs. Theſe are truths of which I need not inform you; but the great and concealed cauſe from whence all theſe calamities take their origin, is not perhaps equally clear

to you. I will, with your permiſſion, inform you of it.—I think in my conſcience I know it.—I have mixed more than the generality of this aſſembly in political topics of all kinds, and therefore may perhaps, without the imputation of arrogance, take upon me to ſay I will inform you what is the actual cauſe of this extenſive miſchief.—It is this, Gentlemen:—His Majeſty has been uniformly adviſed by the wretched counſellors who have always ſurrounded him, to divide his people among themſelves.—"Divide, and govern," is the Royal Motto.—Buckingham-houſe has been ſtripped of its Latin ſcraps; and this plain Engliſh Motto, plain to every common obſerver, is ſubſtituted in its room.—"Divide and govern," has appeared through all the tranſactions of this unfortunate reign:—Adminiſtration have divided the Colonies from the Mother-Country;—they have divided Ireland from it;—and now, as the laſt opportunity of diſplaying this beloved maxim, they want to divide England from itſelf. This pernicious principle, Gentlemen, ought at leaſt to inſtruct us, and all the aſſociated bodies of this kingdom, in the neceſſity for the ſtricteſt unanimity. If the miniſter can divide us, then he will triumph indeed! Buckingham-houſe itſelf would be illuminated, if that were to be the caſe!—Let us therefore be careful, Gentlemen, amongſt ourſelves. Although in ſome reſpects we may differ from other aſſociations, yet in this we may all be certain, that we agree in principle. Let us therefore combine with the moſt heartfelt and ſincere intentions to reſiſt the inſidious attacks of miniſters, who wiſh firſt to weaken us by diviſion, and then to cruſh us into ſilence and contempt.

I ſaid, Gentlemen, that the grand object of your petition had met with ill ſucceſs in parliament. You will more eaſily perceive this to have been the caſe, when I give you a ſhort review of the proceedings there, ſince the period when your petition was delivered.

In the firſt place, a bill was brought into parliament by a gentleman equally reſpectable for abilities and integrity [Mr Burke], for the regulation of the national finance, and for the introduction of œconomy in the expenditure of the public money [194, 6.].—This, Gentlemen, ſucceeded in a degree, but in much the greateſt part the power of the miniſter prevailed againſt every conſideration of wiſdom and juſtice, and a great variety of its beſt clauſes were rejected. After this a moſt reſpectable member indeed, I mean Sir George Saville, introduced a motion into the Houſe for a liſt of thoſe perſons to whom penſions were granted from the public purſe. This meaſure, reaſonable as it was, met with the ſame fate, and was overwhelmed in the torrent of miniſterial influence. Plain and obvious as the principle is, that the nation ſhould be made acquainted with the manner in which their own money was diſpenſed; yet a majority of the Houſe of Commons negatived this motion, and thereby denied the principle I have mentioned [186, 8.]. Plain and obvious as it is, that penſions ſhould be beſtowed upon thoſe only whoſe merits give them a claim to them; yet, whether they are ſo or no, is kept a ſecret from thoſe who ſupply the money for a donation, and the public are left in darkneſs and uncertainty, as to matters with which they have the cleareſt, moſt indefeaſible, and incontrovertible right to inquire.

Amidſt all theſe diſtreſſes, I am glad, however, to have it in my power to inform you, that there has been one unſucceſsful attempt made on the part of adminiſtration itſelf:—They have endeavoured, Gentlemen, to introduce this maxim into the political ſyſtem of this country, That the King has an excluſive right to his own money; that his civil liſt is as much his own as that of any private gentleman; and that his purſe is too ſacred for the other parts of the legiſlature to meddle or interfere with. This damnable doctrine, however, has been almoſt unanimouſly cruſhed, and the meaneſt advocates for royalty are now aſhamed to mention it. What, Gentlemen, would be the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a doctrine? The King might convert his vaſt revenue into what purpoſes he choſe; he might employ it to the deſtruction of the ſtate; and if he ſhould, the houſes of parliament were to be mute ſpectators of the ruin, and not to lift a finger againſt the miſchief. Is this a doctrine to be preached in an Engliſh Houſe of Commons? But the ſupporters of it have themſelves given it up, and it is therefore unneceſſary for me to take up too much of your time in explaining its abſurdity or impropriety. [197, 8, 9.]

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The next ſtep that was made in parliament for the bringing about the great points to which you looked up in your petition, was made by Colonel Barré, to whoſe merits I alſo pay the ſame reſpect which I have expreſſed to ſome other gentlemen on this occaſion.—This Hon. Gentleman gave notice to the Houſe, that he intended on a certain day to move the Houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the appointing a commiſſion of accounts for an inveſtigation into the expenditure of the public money [136.].—The miniſter here had recourſe to ſtratagem, when he found that open force could be of little avail to him. He betook himſelf to a refuge which no liberal man could have thought of, and which would have diſgraced any gentleman. He came down to the Houſe, and himſelf propoſed a commiſſion of accounts for the purpoſe of this inquiry [192.]. — What was the conſequence of this? — He, as being the member who brought in the bill, will now have the power of directing the objects of the inquiry, and of ſelecting the members who are to compoſe the committee. — Is this the way to come at truth? — It is not to be doubted but that the Noble Lord very well knows what ſet of men to chuſe for this employment: — moſt likely they will be Lords of the Treaſury; if not, they muſt undoubtedly be ſuch as the Noble Lord has under his power. They cannot be members of parliament; they muſt therefore be paid, and that payment muſt originate in the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury: — ſo that in this ſituation is this inveſtigation to be inſtituted: — It is to be entered into by men deriving immediate benefit from the perſon into whoſe conduct they are making a ſcrutiny, looking up to him as their patron, and influenced by every conſideration of preſent gain and future expectation. — Would any of the gentlemen preſent adopt ſuch a plan of proceeding? If your ſteward has wronged you, and you tell him that you intend to ſelect a number of men to inquire into his conduct; what could you think, if two or three days after he came to you, and informed you, that he himſelf had appointed a ſet of individuals to ſit as judges upon his tranſactions, and to examine into his accounts [192.]? Would not you think him mad, as well as roguiſh? — If you would, juſt ſo muſt you think of the miniſter of this undone country.

Will you give me leave, Gentlemen, to give you an idea of the mode in which the public treaſure in general is beſtowed, by producing to you one ſingle example? — We are told, that a million of money is ſpent. How ſpent? we aſk. Why, ſays the miniſter, there is 76,000l. to Meſſ. Drummond and Harley for the purchaſe of Portugal coin; 75,000 ditto, 80,000 ditto, 100,000 ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto to the end of the chapter. — What did this ſignify when put into plain Engliſh? — I give my ſervant five guineas to get change for me: What have you done with the money? Says he, — Oh, Sir, I have turned it into ſilver; and having ſaid this, he fancies he has given me a clear and full explanation, and that he has ſufficiently accounted for its expenditure. This is the method in which your treaſury is laviſhed, — this the extravagance that characteriſes every department of the ſtate. —— And for what is all this money expended? for the proſecution of an idle, unjuſt, and wicked war, in which there is not even left a poſſibility of ſucceſs. — On that day on which the budget was opened, or, in other words, on that day when your pockets were picked, I aſked the miniſter if the American war were to be perſevered in? He could give no reply; ſo that on that important ſubject I can neither give you information nor conſolation.

I will now, Gentlemen, take the liberty to ſpeak two or three words concerning myſelf, and then I will have done. I was called upon by your voluntary voice to offer myſelf, next election, a candidate for the city of Weſtminſter. Your offer being made without any ſolicitation on my part, but originating in your own free choice, it cannot be deemed neceſſary that I ſhould mention any part of my parliamentary or political hiſtory, as a required teſt and criterion by which you are to judge of me. I ſhall not ſay one word therefore as a teſt; but this much I cannot but ſay with the ſame unextorted freedom that diſtinguiſhed you in your nomination, that I will ever endeavour to maintain and purſue the objects of your petition, and to enforce the three great points which have been read to you, as our private reſolutions, — of my doing my utmoſt to introduce œconomy into the management of the public affairs, — of promoting an equal repreſentation, by adding

adding one hundred members to the exifting number, -- and of attempting to fhorten the duration of parliaments to the term of one year only. If, however, my paft conduct has not convinced you of the fincerity of my intentions, as well as the zeal of my endeavours, it is impoffible for me to fay any thing that may tend to convince you, and I fhall therefore finifh here."

Mr Fox made fome comments upon the inequality of the prefent repreſentation; which as not appearing in all reſpects to concur with the unanimous ſenſe of the committee, are omitted in in this tranſcript of his excellent ſpeech.

When Mr Fox had concluded, Dr Jebb aroſe, and in an animated ſpeech, recommended to the electors of the city of Weſtminſter, to expreſsly ſtipulate with its candidates that they ſhould endeavour inceſſantly to procure annual parliaments, and a more equal repreſentation of the people. — He pointed out the benefits that would accrue to the public from ſuch meaſures; evinced the abſolute neceſſity of exerting ſpirited efforts in the preſent alarming ſtate of national affairs; and aſſerted, that the act paſſed in the reign of Edward III. to eſtabliſh annual parliaments, did not make, but legalize a preſcriptive right that formed an eſſential part in the ancient conſtitution of this country. He introduced ſome elegant encomiums on Mr Fox, and was received with that ſtrong and hearty approbation which his diſintereſted and manly exertions in the cauſe of freedom muſt excite in every lover of his country.

He was followed by Mr Sawbridge, who recapitulated the arguments of the previous ſpeakers, and aſſerted, that he had invariably ſtrove to obtain triennial parliaments ever ſince he had conſidered the nature of the conſtitution; that if the people of England were to unite in one general aſſociation, the miniſters would not dare to reſiſt their efforts; and that the original government of this country would be fixed upon a permanent baſis.

Mr Byng ſpoke next, and recommended unanimity. A motion was then made, That it be recommended to the committee to exert their utmoſt efforts to procure the return of Mr Fox as member for Weſtminſter; which met with univerſal approbation. Upon which Mr Fox came forward, and expreſſed the warmeſt gratitude for this mark of the popular favour; declaring, that as it aroſe merely from his exertions in behalf of the conſtitution, he deſired to poſſeſs it no longer than he manifeſted zeal in the public ſervice. He then made a motion, That this meeting be adjourned *ſine die*, ſubject to the call of the appointed committee; and quitted the chair amidſt the applauding ſhouts of a numerous and reſpectable aſſembly.

Mr Turner's ſpeech at this meeting was perhaps the moſt extraordinary that has been delivered in Weſtminſter-hall ſince the days of Oliver Cromwell. He told the people, they had a right to alter the government in what manner they pleaſed; to change any branch, or all the branches, of the legiſlature: They had a right to change the conſtitution to a republic, or what kind of government ſhould appear moſt convenient and agreeable; and, in fact, that they were the lords of the creation. This ſpeech was received with loud burſts of applauſe.

A treaty of alliance between Charles II. King of Great Britain, and the United Provinces, in January 1668.

SEeing that by the peace concluded on long ago at Breda, between the Moſt Serene and Moſt Potent Prince, Charles II. King of Great Britain on the one part, and the High and Mighty Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, on the other, the ancient friendſhip and good correſpondence between the two nations has, by the grace of God, been reſtored; inſomuch that, in order for the future quiet, to cut off all manner of occaſion for new differences that might ariſe between the ſubjects of both nations, and ſo interrupt the ſaid friendſhip and good correſpondence, they in like manner agreed on certain articles and rules for navigation and commerce: and, more particulary, by the 11th article of the ſaid treaty it was concluded, That the ſaid King, and the ſaid Lords the States-General, ſhould remain friends, confederates, and ſtrictly united in a way of friendſhip and neceſſity, for the defence of the rights and immunities of the ſubjects of both nations, againſt any, whoſoever they may be, who ſhall endeavour to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of either ſtate by ſea or land; or who, living in the dominions of either party, ſhall be declared public enemies of either of them. But there having been no aid nor methods particularly agreed

greed on, by which any party ought to ſuccour the other, — in ſuch a caſe, it is agreed by the ſaid King of Great Britain and the ſaid States, for the better confirming and ſtrengthening of the ſaid confederacy, in the firſt place, and before all other things, that the ſaid treaty concluded at Breda, and the ſaid regulations relating to navigation and commerce, be confirmed, as the ſame is hereby confirmed by mutual and indiſſoluble obligation, faithfully to obſerve and fulfil the ſame; and requiring that the ſubjects on both ſides do religiouſly and exactly obſerve and fulfil it, according to the genuine ſenſe and tenor of the ſaid treaty and the ſaid articles.

That therefore it may appear there is a greater increaſe of friendſhip between the ſaid King and the ſaid Lords the States-General, by their concerting proper meaſures for their mutual defence, which was omitted in the former articles; and that, by a ſtricter league and union, full proviſion may be made for the mutual ſecurity and defence of both their dominions, againſt the reſtleſs endeavours and hoſtile inſults of any other whatſoever, be it under what pretence it will; — We the underwritten, by virtue of the mandates and full powers given us, and hereto annexed, do agree and conclude, That the ſaid King of Great Britain, and the ſaid Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, are allied, united, and conſidered, even as they are bound, united, and confederated, by a perpetual defenſive league, upon the following terms and conditions.

I. If any prince or ſtate, or any other power whatſoever, let it be what it will, without any exception, ſhall, under any pretence whatſoever, invade, or endeavour to invade, the territories and countries, or any place under the dominion of the ſaid King of G. Britain, or perform any hoſtile act whatſoever againſt the ſaid King and his ſubjects, either by ſea or land, — the ſaid Lords the States-General ſhall be obliged, as they are by virtue of theſe preſents, to aſſiſt the ſaid King, in order to withſtand, oppoſe, and repel, thoſe inſults and hoſtile acts, and to obtain due reparation for the loſs ſuſtained, with forty men of war well fitted out; of which fourteen are to carry between ſixty and eighty great guns each, having 400 men on board, making larger or ſmaller allowances and diſtributions to thoſe that can carry more or leſs ſoldiers and ſeamen; fourteen more are to carry from fifty to ſixty guns, and at leaſt 300 men, making right diſtributions of the men as aforeſaid; none of the reſt are to carry leſs than thirty-ſix guns and 150 men. Over and above this, they are to ſupply the ſaid King with 6000 foot and 400 horſe, or pay as much money as ſuch a body of men will juſt coſt, as the ſaid King ſhall chuſe, or ſuch a part of the ſaid auxiliaries, or the ſaid value in money, at the choice of the ſaid King. The ſaid auxiliaries ſhall be ready within ſix weeks ſpace after they are demanded. And all the charges ſhall be refunded to the States by the ſaid King, three years after the war is ended.

II. If any prince or ſtate, or any other whatſoever, without any exception, be it under what pretence it will, ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade, the Confederate Provinces, or any places under the dominion of the ſaid Lords the States-General, or wherein their ſoldiers ſhall be in garriſon, or ſhall commit any hoſtile act whatſoever, either by ſea or land, againſt the ſaid Lords the States-General, or their ſubjects, — the ſaid King ſhall be obliged, as by virtue of theſe preſents he is obliged, to aſſiſt the ſaid Lords the States-General, to withſtand, ſuppreſs, and repel, thoſe inſults and hoſtile acts, and to obtain due reparation for the loſs ſuſtained, with forty men of war well fitted out; of which fourteen ſhall carry from ſixty to eighty guns, and each ſhip 400 men, but yet making a diſtribution of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, between thoſe of a greater and a leſſer burden; fourteen more from fifty to ſixty guns, and 300 men at leaſt, to be diſtributed as aforeſaid; and none of the other ſhips ſhall carry leſs than thirty-ſix guns and 150 men. Over and above this, he ſhall furniſh them with 6000 foot and 400 horſe, or the juſt value of the ſame in money, as the ſaid States ſhall chuſe, or part of the ſaid auxiliaries, or the ſaid value in money, as they ſhall require it. The ſaid auxiliaries alſo ſhall be furniſhed, within ſix weeks ſpace after they are demanded. And all the charges ſhall be refunded to the ſaid King by the ſaid Lords the States-General, within three years after the war is ended.

III. The ſaid men of war, and the ſaid auxiliary troops, both horſe and foot, and the chief commanders of the ſhips and forces, together with the other inferior

rior officers, ſhall be obliged to be commanded by, and obey the party that hath been attacked and injured, and be ſubject to the orders of him or them who have the chief command over the army or fleet, by ſea or land.

IV. But to the end that an exact computation may be made of the charges, to be paid within three years time after the concluſion of the war, or elſe of the juſt value of the ſame in money, which the party that has been attacked, either in the whole or in part, may chuſe as he pleaſes, inſtead of the ſaid ſhips, horſe and foot, it is agreed, that the charges of fourteen men of war from ſixty to eighty guns, ſhall be at eighteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty pounds Sterling of Engliſh money; and of thoſe of fourteen from fifty to ſixty, at fourteen thouſand pounds Sterling; but the other twelve at ſix thouſand pounds of the ſame money: the charge of 6000 foot to ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds Sterling, and of the 400 horſe a thouſand and forty pounds of the ſame money, for every month: all which ſhall be paid by the King of Great Britain at London, and by the ſaid Lords the States at Amſterdam, according to the courſe of the exchange at that time, when the payment ſhall be made. But for the firſt payment there ſhall be ſix thouſand pounds Sterling over and above for the ſaid foot, that being neceſſary for raiſing and arming them.

V. This league, and all and every thing contained therein, ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſaid King of Great Britain, and the ſaid Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, under their reſpective great ſeals, in due and authentic form, within the ſpace of four weeks, or ſooner if poſſible; and inſtruments of the ſaid ratifications ſhall be mutually exchanged within that time.

A wonderful inſtance of quick growth.

THE ſalmon-ſmelts, ſprod-ſmelts, and morth-ſmelts, go down the river at Saliſbury the latter end of April and beginning of May. At that time the ſalmon-ſmelts weigh about three or four ounces, morth and ſprod about three ounces each. The ſaid ſalmon-ſmelts return ſalmon (if a freſh in the river) in about ſeven weeks, and will weigh about twelve pounds. The morth returns in about nine weeks, and weighs about two pounds. The ſprods begin coming up about the ſame time, and weigh about three fourths of a pound. — The way the fiſhermen know this is as follows. When the fiſh are going down, they catch of the different ſorts, and put a wire through the back fin of ſome of them; which wire they have found by catching the ſame fiſh on their return.— The gentleman who rents the fiſhery, among others, has given this account. —If this be a fact, the growth of the former ſort is very wonderful; and *quære*, if there be ſuch another inſtance in the whole creation?

Gent. Mag.

The taxation of G. Britain, amounting to thirteen millions revenue, compared with that of Ireland, amounting to one million revenue,—with regard to the people, acres, rental, export, and balance of trade, of either kingdom.

	Great Britain.				*Ireland.*		
	Number.	*Tax.*			*Num.*	*Tax.*	
	Millions.	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*Mil.*	*L.*	*s.* *d.*
People, a-head,	9	1	9	0	3	0	6 8
Acres, each,	72	0	3	6	25	0	0 10
Rent in the pd.	24	0	10	10	6	0	3 4
Export, ditto,	16	0	16	3	3½	0	5 9
Bal. of trade, dit.	5	2	12	0	1	1	0 0

The inferiority of the taxes of Ireland to thoſe of Great Britain upon every one of theſe compariſons is very great; the parallel is, however, certainly not complete: the ſpecie of Ireland is 1,600,000*l.* but it is difficult to ſay what that of England is, the gold coinage proved our calculators to be ſo amazingly out in their reckoning; but in this article, including paper, lies, I apprehend, the greater eaſe in England of paying taxes, which are light or heavy, not perhaps ſo much in proportion to the income of a people, as to the eaſe of circulation; that in England is out of all compariſon greater than in Ireland, which would make it impoſſible for the preceding proportions to be raiſed in that kingdom as high as they are in Britain. But fair allowances being made for this article, ſtill we may with great ſafety conclude, that this national burden is vaſtly lighter there than with us. If the advantages of ſuch a ſituation are not continued, it will certainly be owing to complaints of poverty, occaſioning cloſer ſcrutinies into facts, than have hitherto happened.

HISTORY 1778, continued. [128.]

GREAT BRITAIN.

No equal ſpace of time, for ſeveral years paſt, afforded ſo little domeſtic matter worthy of obſervation, as that part of the year 1777 which elapſed during the receſs of parliament. Neither the town nor the country preſented any new object of party-contention. The American war, and many of its conſequences, were now ſcarcely objects of curioſity, much leſs of ſurpriſe; and being in the habit of deriving no benefit from our colonies, and of conſidering them only in a ſtate of enmity and hoſtility, it ſeemed as if their total loſs would be no longer a matter of much wonder or concern; but that rather, on the contrary, that event would be felt as a ceſſation from war, expence, and trouble, uſually is felt in other caſes.

The loſs and ruin brought upon numbers of individuals by this fatal quarrel between the mother-country and her colonies, was little thought of, excepting by the ſufferers; and had, as yet, produced no apparent change in the face of public affairs. For although our foreign commerce was by this time conſiderably embarraſſed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; although it was already reduced in ſome of its parts, and in others, ſuch as the African branch, nearly annihilated; it had not yet received thoſe ſtrokes, or at leaſt they were not yet ſo ſenſibly felt, which have ſince ſhaken the mercantile intereſt of this country to a degree which it had not often before experienced.

Indeed that commerce which had ſo long equally excited the envy of other nations, and the admiration of mankind, was ſo immenſe in its extent, and involved ſuch a multitude of great and material objects in its embrace, that it was not to be ſhaken by any uſual convulſion of nature, nor to be endangered by any common accident of fortune. It accordingly bore many ſevere ſhocks, and ſuſtained loſſes of a prodigious magnitude, before they were capable of apparently affecting its general ſyſtem.

We have formerly ſhewn, that the American war, from its peculiar nature, and the greatneſs of the expence with which it was conducted and ſupplied, had produced a new ſpecies of commerce, which, however ruinous in its ultimate effects, had for the preſent a flattering appearance. For this ſubſtitute, including all the traffic appertaining to or conſequent of the war, as well as the commercial ſpeculations which aroſe by licenſed exception or evaſion of the ſeveral reſtraining acts of parliament, afforded employment, like a great and legitimate commerce, to an infinite number of perſons, and quantity of ſhipping, yielding at leaſt equal benefits to the groſs of thoſe who were concerned, and far greater emoluments, devoid of riſk, or even of the employment of much capital, to the principals, than the profits of any real or open trade could poſſibly admit.

Thus, however frail its eſtabliſhment, and neceſſarily ſhort its duration, a new, powerful, and numerous connection was formed, totally diſtinct from the great, ancient, mercantile intereſt: and thus, although our Gazettes teemed with bankruptcies, generally doubling and trebling in number whatever had been uſually known in the ſame time in this country; yet the gainers, or the candidates for gain, in the new adventures, were ſo numerous, and preſented ſuch an appearance of eaſe, affluence, and content, that the plaintive but feeble voice of the unfortunate was little attended to; and the chearfulneſs which the ſplendour and happineſs of the former ſpread all around, prevented any gloomy reflections from ariſing in the minds of thoſe who had as yet no ſenſible feeling of the public calamity.

It is true that the coaſts of G. Britain and Ireland were inſulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardieſt enemies had never ventured in our moſt arduous contentions with foreigners. Thus were the inmoſt and moſt domeſtic receſſes of our trade rendered inſecure; and a convoy for the protection of the linen-ſhips from Dublin and Newry, was now for the firſt time ſeen. The Thames alſo preſented the unuſual and melancholy ſpectacle of numbers of foreign ſhips, particularly French, taking in cargoes of Engliſh commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to ſeek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the Britiſh flag uſed to afford to all the world.

Againſt this muſt be ſet, that his Majeſty's ſhips took a prodigious number of American veſſels, both on their own

coaſts and in the Weſt Indies. The perſeverance with which the Americans ſupplied the objects for theſe captures, by continually building new ſhips, and ſeeking new adventures, ſeemed almoſt incredible. At a time when the whole of a trade, carried on under ſuch diſcouraging circumſtances, ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, the Gazettes teemed again with the account of new captures; which, though for the greater part they were not of much value ſingly, yet furniſhed, at times, ſome very rich prizes; and, in the aggregate, were of a vaſt amount. They probably much overbalanced the loſſes which we ſuſtained from their privateers. But it was, to a thinking mind, melancholy, that we had a computation of that kind to make.

The conduct of France during this whole year, in every thing that regarded England and America, was ſo ſlightly covered, and ſo little qualified, that it ſeemed to leave no room for any doubt (excepting with thoſe who were determined to place ſo implicit a faith in words as to admit of no other ſpecies of evidence) as to the part which ſhe would finally take in the conteſt. As ſhe was not yet, however, in ſufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmoſt extremities, nor her negotiations with the Americans advanced to an abſolute determination, ſhe occaſionally relaxed in certain points, when ſhe found herſelf ſo cloſely preſſed by the Britiſh miniſters, that an obſtinate perſeverance would precipitate matters to that concluſion which ſhe wiſhed for ſome time longer to defer.

Thus, when a bold American adventurer, one Cunningham, had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the Engliſh packet from Holland, and ſent the mail to the American miniſters at Paris, it then ſeemed neceſſary, in ſome degree, to diſcountenance ſo flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the ſtanding treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations eſtabliſhed in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. Cunningham and his crew were accordingly committed for ſome ſhort time to priſon. Yet this appearance of ſatisfaction was done away by the circumſtances which attended it. For Cunningham's impriſonment was repreſented to the Americans as proceeding merely from ſome informality in his commiſſion, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely paſſed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only ſpeedily releaſed from their mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchaſe, fit out, and arm a much ſtronger veſſel, and better ſailer, than the former, avowedly to infeſt as before the Britiſh commerce. [39. 447, 448.]

It was in the ſame line of policy that when the French Newfoundland fiſhery would have been totally intercepted and deſtroyed in caſe of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their ſeamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loſs even of the ſhips and cargoes, Lord Stormont obtained, in that critical ſituation, an order from the miniſters, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, ſhould immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, ſatisfactory as this compliance, and concluſive as this order appeared, it was combated with ſuch ingenuity, and ſuch expedients practiſed to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with in a ſingle inſtance throughout the kingdom. It, however, anſwered the purpoſe for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a ſubject of tedious and indeciſive controverſy, until the French ſhips were ſafe in their reſpective ports.

It would ſeem, that Monſ. de Sartine, the French miniſter of the marine, and great advocate for the American cauſe, was determined, that whatever charges of duplicity might be brought againſt his country, they ſhould not reſt perſonally with himſelf. For this miniſter, upon ſome reports which tended to diſcourage the commerce with the Americans, as if the court would not protect its ſubjects in conveying the products of that continent in their veſſels, which would accordingly become legal prizes to the Engliſh if taken, aſſured the ſeveral chambers of commerce by a public inſtrument, July 4. 1777, and in direct contravention of all our navigation-laws, that the King was determined to afford the fulleſt protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all ſhips that were taken under that pretext.

Upon the whole, whatever evaſion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or profeſſions of France, her conduct was ſo unequivocal in the courſe of this

this buſineſs, that the only matter of ſurpriſe would be, if it could be thought poſſible, that ſhe impoſed upon any people by the one, or that they could miſtake her deſigns in the other. It indeed required no great ſagacity to diſcover, that ſhe had now acquired ſo thorough a reliſh for the ſweets of the American commerce, that nothing leſs than the moſt irreſiſtible neceſſity could induce her to forego the poſſeſſion of what ſhe had obtained, and the vaſt hopes with which ſhe flattered herſelf in future. But as yet ſhe waited the event of the American campaign, and the completion of her naval equipments, (which were carried on with the greateſt diligence and in the moſt public manner at Breſt and Toulon) before ſhe riſked any deciſive ſtep.

No change of any ſort, whether by death, removal, or internal arrangement, had taken place in adminiſtration during the receſs. Every day of the American war rivetted the miniſters faſter in their ſeats. Good and bad ſucceſs produced the ſame effect in that reſpect. In the former inſtance, who could be deemed ſo fitting to conclude the buſineſs, as thoſe by whom it was framed, and ſo far happily conducted? In the other, who could be found hardy enough to undertake the completion of a ruinous ſyſtem, which, beſides its failure already in the execution, was originally, and in its nature, clogged with infinite difficulty and danger? Thus ſituated, and ſupported by an uncontroulable force in parliament, it ſeemed that nothing could diſturb their repoſe, until the preſent American ſyſtem was in ſome manner diſpoſed of.

Gen. Burgoyne's ſucceſs at Ticonderoga, with the total diſcomfiture and ruin which every where attended the Americans in their precipitate flight on the borders of Lake George, excited the greateſt triumph on the ſide of adminiſtration; and whilſt it wonderfully elevated the ſpirits, was conſidered nearly as crowning the hopes, of all thoſe who had ſupported or approved of the war.

We have already ſeen, that the northern expedition was looked upon as the favourite child of government. The operations on the ſide of the Jerſeys and Philadelphia were evidently conſidered in a very ſecondary point of view. As the Noble Lord who conducted the American affairs had all the applauſe of this meaſure, which was conſidered entirely as his own, it is not to be wondered at, that both himſelf and his brethren in office ſhould be deeply intereſted in the event, and value themſelves highly on the appearance of ſucceſs.

The ſubſequent diſpatches from Gen. Burgoyne did not long ſupport the hopes which were founded on the firſt ſucceſſes. The unexpected difficulties and delays which the army experienced in advancing a few miles from Skenſborough to the ſouthward, were, however, counterbalanced in opinion by its arrival on the Hudſon's river, the retreat of the enemy from Fort Edward, their abandoning Fort George and the Lake, by which a free paſſage was opened from Ticonderoga, and St Leger's ſucceſs in defeating and ruining the Tryon county militia near Fort Stanwix.

All the former and preſent ſanguine expectations which had been formed, were, however, in a great meaſure overthrown by the advices which were received, Oct. 31. ſome time previous to the meeting of parliament; an event which was probably this year held back, in the full confidence of its being uſhered in with the particulars of ſome great and deciſive ſucceſs. Thoſe which came to hand, after a tedious ſeaſon of expectation, bore a very different complexion. The inſuperable difficulties that neceſſarily ſuſpended the operations of an army in ſuch a country, and under ſuch circumſtances, were now practically diſcovered. The double defeat of Baum and Breyman [39. 519.], by a ſuppoſed broken and ruined militia, in an attempt to remove or to leſſen ſome of thoſe difficulties, was ſtill more diſpiriting; and was not in any degree cured by the hope which the General expreſſed, of ſupport and aſſiſtance from the co-operation of Sir William Howe's army; both as it marked a deſpondency of ſucceſs from his own force, and that the miniſters knew the impoſſibility of his receiving any ſupport from that quarter. But, as if it had been to crown the climax of ill news and ill fortune, the ſame diſpatches were accompanied with others from Sir Guy Carleton, which brought an account of the failure of the expedition to Fort Stanwix, the bold and unexpected attack of the rebels on the ſide of Ticonderoga, and of a ſtill more unexpected and extraordinary event, in a ſhort ſketch of the deſperate and doubtful action which was

fought on the 19th of September between Gen[l] Burgoyne and Arnold; which, naked as it was of circumſtances, ſeemed to ſhew the latter to be the aſſailant, by the mention of his retiring to his camp when the darkneſs had put an end to the combat. [39. 520.]

Although the knowledge of theſe events ſeemed to open a view to ſome of the ſucceeding misfortunes, and even afforded room to preſage a part of thoſe unparallelled calamities which befel the northern army, it was ſtill hoped, by thoſe who were moſt ſanguine in their expectations, that General Burgoyne, being ſo near Albany, could not fail of making his way good to that place; and that being then ſecurely lodged, he would have an opportunity of concerting with Sir Henry Clinton, the means, either ſeparately or jointly, of diſtreſſing the northern colonies; or if the ſeaſon and other circumſtances did not encourage that deſign, they might decide upon the propriety of maintaining the poſt at Albany during the winter, or of advancing to New York, it more eligible. In the worſt caſe that could happen, they entertained no doubt of effecting his retreat back to Canada. Others were apprehenſive of ſome of the fatal conſequences that enſued.

Such was in general the ſtate of affairs, ſo far as they were known, and of public opinion, at the meeting of parliament. —The accounts from Sir William Howe went no farther than the ſucceſsful landing of the army at the head of the Elk [39. 595.]; his preparation for advancing towards Philadelphia; with the ſituation and apparent deſign of the enemy to impede his progreſs.

[Many readers of Mr Dodſley's Annual Regiſter are at a loſs to know why in that for 1778 no more notice is taken (either in the Hiſtory of Europe, or in the Chronicle) of the ſea fight of July 27. 1778, than if no ſuch event had happened. *Gent. Mag.* —— This omiſſion is the more remarkable, that the letter which the King of France wrote to C. d'Orvilliers on that ſubject [40. 446.] is inſerted in the Chronicle p. 198.]

Scleƈt Maxims.

EXCEPT wiſe men be made miniſters, or miniſters be made wiſe men, mankind ſhall never live in quiet, nor Virtue be able to defend herſelf. *Plato.*

SUBJECTS follow the examples of their princes, as certain flowers turn according to the ſun. *Horace.*

EULOGIUM on Mr JAMES MACKENZIE, *ſon of Dr Mackenzie, Phyſician in Edinburgh, a young gentleman of a remarkable poetical genius, who died lately.*

Read in the college of Edinburgh, by Mr Dalzell, Profeſſor of Greek, when giving lectures on the Greek Poetry, Feb. 8. 1780.

PERmit me, Gentlemen, before I conclude this lecture, to take this opportunity of paying a ſmall tribute to the memory of one of our number lately deceaſed; and whoſe untimely death affords matter of ſtrong and ſincere regret, not only to a diſconſolate father and relations, but to all who were intimately acquainted with him. As Poetry was his favourite amuſement, it ſeems peculiarly proper that he ſhould be commemorated in theſe diſcourſes.

Many of you knew him well. At a very early period of life he diſplayed, not only great vigour of imagination, but an uncommon ripeneſs of judgement. At the age of *twelve*, his converſation was ſuch as to afford very high pleaſure, and even inſtruction, to perſons advanced in life. He might, I ſuppoſe, be about that age when I firſt ſaw him. I have the moſt perfect recollection of being then very much ſurpriſed at the manlineſs of his converſation, and particularly the great ſagacity and acuteneſs of many of his remarks; but was exceedingly ſtruck, when, upon his being deſired to repeat ſome verſes of his own compoſition, he pronounced, with great propriety of delivery, among other pieces, ſome tranſlations from Horace, which were truly admirable. He had not then quitted the Grammar-ſchool. — Afterwards, when he came to college, and fell more particularly under my eye, I wiſhed, from the beginning, to be able to ſhew him the beauties of the Greek poets, which I knew could not fail to ſtrike him the moment he ſhould perceive them. Nor was I deceived: for after he had obtained ſuch a knowledge of the language, as enabled him to enter into the ſpirit of thoſe paſſages of the Poets which were explained in the claſs, I have often caſt my eye upon him while I was rehearſing and tranſlating the verſes of Anacreon and of Homer, and have found him liſtening with deep attention, and his features affected in different ways, as might be ſuppoſed in the caſe of a perſon of poetical genius, who entered,

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for the firſt time, into the true ſpirit of thoſe exquiſite Poets.

Nor did the Muſes ſolely occupy his attention. He had begun alſo to apply to different branches of academical learning, when, after a ſhort illneſs, he was cut off before he arrived at the bloom of life.—

Purpureus veluti cum flos ſuccifus aratro
Langueſcit moriens, laſſove papavera collo
Demiſere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.
VIRGIL.

and has thus deprived—certainly his friends and acquaintance, of a moſt agreeable and inſtructive companion, and—probably his country of a moſt exquiſite Poet.

To juſtify this laſt conjecture, I ſhall produce a ſmall ſpecimen of his early talent for writing verſes. [See POETRY.]

A curious termination of a Law-ſuit.

ABout the year 1578, Scrothy Sand, near Yarmouth, emerged from the water, and formed itſelf into a ſandy iſland. A few months after, it raiſed its head ſo much above high-water mark, that graſs, &c. grew on it, and ſea-fowls made choice of it for the building their neſts, ſo that it was in fact a ſmall iſland; whither many of the Yarmouth people uſed to go in the ſummer ſeaſon, in order to paſs an agreeable day. Hence it appears, that on Aug. 2. 1580, the bailiffs, with a reſpectable company, went down to take formal poſſeſſion of this ſpot, by the name of *Yarmouth iſland*, where they all dined, and ſpent the day in feſtivity. From the circumſtance of its appearance, they did imagine that it would ſoon accumulate, and become of ſome importance to the town.

Sir Edward Clere, Kt, therefore oppoſed them in the poſſeſſion of it, claiming it himſelf as part of his manor of Scrothy; and for that purpoſe erected a frame of timber upon it as a teſtimony of his claim. It was the more eagerly contended for, on account of the many valuable goods that were often caſt aſhore there from ſhips loſt on the coaſt; particularly that year (1582), when ſeveral parcels of ſilk, wax, &c. were found there, and carried to Yarmouth, in ſpite of Sir Edward's claim. The conteſt, however, was of ſhort duration. The ſea very unexpectedly put in its more powerful claim, received again its property, and left Sir Edward and the Yarmouth people "not a wreck behind," whereby to keep alive the fruitleſs conteſt.

A particular account of the maſſacre of the Engliſh garriſon at Fort William-Henry in 1757. [19.542,598.]

From Carver's Travels.

GEN. Webb, who commanded the Engliſh army in North America, which was then incamped at Fort Edward, having intelligence, that the French troops under Monſ. Montcalm were making ſome movements towards Fort William-Henry, he detached a corps of about 1500 men, conſiſting of Engliſh and Provincials, to ſtrengthen the garriſon. In this party I went as a volunteer among the latter.

The apprehenſions of the Engliſh General were not without foundation: for, the day after our arrival, we ſaw Lake George, formerly Lake Sacrament, to which it lies contiguous, covered with an immenſe number of boats; and in a few hours we found our lines attacked by the French General, who had juſt landed with 11,000 regulars and Canadians, and 2000 Indians. Col. Monro, a brave officer, commanded in the fort, and had no more than 2300 men with him, our detachment included.

With theſe he made a gallant defence, and probably would have been able at laſt to preſerve the fort, had he been properly ſupported, and permitted to continue his efforts. On every ſummons to ſurrender ſent by the French General, who offered the moſt honourable terms, his anſwer repeatedly was, That he yet found himſelf in a condition to repel the moſt vigorous attacks his beſiegers were able to make; and, if he thought his preſent force inſufficient, he could ſoon be ſupplied with a greater number from the adjacent army.

But the Colonel having acquainted Gen. Webb with his ſituation, and deſired he would ſend him ſome freſh troops, the General diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, wherein he informed him, that it was not in his power to aſſiſt him, and therefore gave him orders to ſurrender up the fort on the beſt terms he could procure. This packet fell into the hands of the French General; who immediately ſent a flag of truce, deſiring a conference with the Governor.

They accordingly met, attended only by a ſmall guard, in the centre between the lines; when Monſ. Montcalm told the Colonel, that he was come in perſon to demand poſſeſſion of the fort, as it belonged

longed to the King his maſter. The Colonel replied, that he knew not how that could be, nor ſhould he ſurrender it up while it was in his power to defend it. The French General rejoined, at the ſame time delivering the packet into the Colonel's hand: "By this authority," ſaid he, "do I make the requiſition." The brave Governor had no ſooner read the contents, and was convinced that ſuch were the orders of the commander in chief, and not to be diſobeyed, than he hung his head in ſilence, and reluctantly entered into a negotiation.

In conſideration of the gallant defence the garriſon had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war; to be allowed covered waggons to tranſport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the ſavages.

The morning after the capitulation was ſigned, as ſoon as day broke, the whole garriſon, now conſiſting of about 2000 men, beſides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about them, and began to plunder.

We were at firſt in hopes that this was their only view, and ſuffered them to proceed without oppoſition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been ſo inclined: for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a ſingle round of ammunition.

In theſe hopes however we were diſappointed: for preſently ſome of the ſavages began to attack the ſick and wounded, when ſuch as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithſtanding they endeavoured to avert the fury of their enemies by their ſhrieks or groans, were ſoon diſpatched.

Here we were fully in expectation the diſturbance would have ended, and our little army began to move; but in a ſhort time we ſaw the front-diviſion driven back, and diſcovered that we were encircled by the ſavages.

We expected every moment, that the guard, which the French by the articles of capitulation had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehenſions: but none appeared. The Indians now began to ſtrip every one, without exception, of their arms and cloaths; and thoſe who made the leaſt reſiſtance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear-diviſion, but it was not long before I ſhared the fate of my companions: three or four of the ſavages laid hold of me, and whilſt ſome held their weapons over my head, the others ſoon diſrobed me of my coat, waiſtcoat, hat, and buckles, not omitting to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was tranſacted cloſe by the paſſage that led from the lines on to the plain near which a French centinel was poſted, I ran to him, and claimed his protection; but he only called me an Engliſh dog, and thruſt me with violence back into the midſt of the Indians.

I now endeavoured to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at ſome diſtance; but innumerable were the ſtrokes that were made at me with different weapons as I paſſed on. Luckily, however, the ſavages were ſo cloſe together, that they could not ſtrike at me without endangering each other; notwithſtanding which one of them found means to make a thruſt at me with a ſpear, which graſed my ſide; and from another I received a wound with the ſame kind of weapon in my ancle. At length I gained the ſpot where my countrymen ſtood, and forced myſelf into the midſt of them; but before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and riſbands of my ſhirt were all that remained of it, and my fleſh was ſcratched and torn in many places by their ſavage gripes.

By this time the war-hoop was given, and the Indians began to murder thoſe that were neareſt to them without diſtinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid ſcene that now enſued. Men, women, and children, were diſpatched in the moſt wanton and cruel manner, and immediately ſcalped. Many of theſe ſavages drank the blood of their victims as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had ſo lately ſigned to allow us a ſufficient force to protect us from theſe barbarities, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at ſome diſtance, diſcourſing together with apparent unconcern.

For the honour of human nature I would hope, that this flagrant breach of every

every facred law proceeded rather from the ſavage diſpoſition of the Indians, (which I acknowledge it is ſometimes almoſt impoſſible to control, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not eaſily to be reſtrained), than to any premeditated deſign in the French commander. An unprejudiced obſerver would however be apt to conclude, that a body of 10,000 Chriſtian troops, (Moſt Chriſtian troops), had it in their power to prevent the maſſacre from becoming ſo general. But, whatever was the cauſe from which it aroſe, the conſequences of it were dreadful, and not to be parallelled in modern hiſtory.

As the circle in which I ſtood incloſed was by this time much thinned, and death ſeemed to be approaching with haſty ſtrides, it was propoſed by ſome of the moſt reſolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavour to force our way through the ſavages; the only probable method of preſerving our lives who now remained. This, however deſperate, was reſolved on, and about twenty of us ſprung at once into the midſt of them. In a moment we were all ſeparated; and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till ſome months after, when I found that only ſix or ſeven of them effected their deſign. Intent only on my own hazardous ſituation, I endeavoured to make my way through my ſavage enemies in the beſt manner poſſible; and I have often been aſtoniſhed ſince, when I have recollected with what compoſure I took, as I did, every neceſſary ſtep for my preſervation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic; and others I paſſed by, dexterouſly avoiding their weapons, till at laſt two very ſtout chiefs of the moſt ſavage tribes, as I could diſtinguiſh by their dreſs, whoſe ſtrength I could not reſiſt, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now reſigned myſelf to my fate, not doubting but they intended to diſpatch me, and to ſatiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired ſwamp that lay at ſome diſtance. But before we had got many yards, an Engliſh gentleman of ſome diſtinction, as I could diſcover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine ſcarlet velvet, ruſhed cloſe by us. One of the Indians inſtantly relinquiſhed his hold, and ſpringing on this new object, endeavoured to ſeize him as his prey; but the gentleman, being ſtrong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm quitted me to aſſiſt his brother. I ſeized the opportunity, and haſtened away to join another party of Engliſh troops that were yet unbroken, and ſtood in a body at ſome diſtance; but before I had taken many ſteps I haſtily caſt my eyes towards the gentleman, and ſaw the Indian's tomahawk gaſh into his back, and heard him utter his laſt groan. This added both to my ſpeed and deſperation.

I had left this ſhocking ſcene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto eſcaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, ſo that he might ſtand ſome chance of getting out of the hands of the ſavages. I told him that I would give him every aſſiſtance in my power, and bid him lay hold: but in a few moments he was torn from my ſide, and by his ſhrieks I judge he was ſoon diſpatched. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a moment to lament the fate of ſo young a ſufferer: but it was utterly impoſſible for me to take any method to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midſt of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any ſuccour. As this was the diviſion that had advanced the fartheſt from the fort, I thought there might be a poſſibility, though a bare one, of my forcing a way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighbouring wood. I was the more encouraged to hope by the almoſt miraculous preſervation I had already experienced. Nor were my hopes vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to ſay, that I reached the wood. But by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was ſo exhauſted, that I threw myſelf into a brake, and lay for ſome minutes apparently at the laſt gaſp. At length I recovered the power of reſpiration: but my apprehenſions returned with all their former force, when I ſaw ſeveral ſavages paſs by, probably in purſuit of me, at no very great diſtance. In this ſituation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavour to conceal myſelf where I lay till night ſhould come on. Fearing, however, that they would return the ſame way, I thought it moſt prudent to get farther from the

dreadful

dreadful ſcene of my paſt diſtreſſes. Accordingly, ſtriking into another part of the wood, I haſtened on as faſt as the briers, and the loſs of one of my ſhoes, would permit me: and, after a ſlow progreſs of ſome hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had juſt left, from whence I could diſcern that the bloody ſtorm ſtill raged with unabated fury. But not to tire my readers, I ſhall only add, that, after paſſing three days without ſubſiſtence, and enduring the ſeverity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where, with proper care, my body ſoon recovered its wonted ſtrength; and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its uſual compoſure.

It was computed that 1500 perſons were killed or made priſoners by theſe ſavages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by the ſavages, and never returned. A few, through favourable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and ſevere captivity.

The brave Col. Monro had haſtened away, ſoon after the carnage began, to the French camp, to endeavour to procure the guard agreed on by the capitulation: but his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till Gen. Webb ſent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to Fort Edward. But theſe unhappy occurrences, which would probably have been prevented had he been left to purſue his own plans, together with the loſs of ſo many brave fellows murdered in cold blood, to whoſe valour he had been ſo lately a witneſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he did not long ſurvive. He died in about three months of a broken heart; and with truth might it be ſaid, that he was an honour to his country.

I mean not to point out the following circumſtance as the immediate judgement of Heaven, and intended as an atonement for this ſlaughter; but I cannot omit obſerving, that very few of thoſe different tribes of Indians that ſhared in it ever lived to return home. The ſmall pox, by means of their communication with the Europeans, found its way among them, and made an equal havock by its malignity to what they themſelves had done by their brutalities. The methods they purſued, on the firſt attack of that diſorder, to abate the fever attending it, rendered it fatal. Whilſt their blood was in a ſtate of fermentation, and nature was ſtriving to throw out the peccant matter, they checked her operations, by plunging into the water; the conſequence was, that they died by hundreds. The few that ſurvived were transformed by it into hideous objects, and bore with them to the grave deep-indented marks of this much-dreaded diſeaſe.

Monſ. Montcalm fell ſoon after on the plains of Quebec. [21. 547.]

That the unprovoked cruelty of this commander was not approved of by the generality of his countrymen, I have ſince been convinced of by many proofs. One only, however, which I received from a perſon who was witneſs to it, ſhall I at preſent give. A Canadian merchant, of ſome conſideration, having heard of the ſurrender of the Engliſh fort, celebrated the fortunate event with great rejoicings and hoſpitality, according to the cuſtom of that country: but no ſooner did the news of the maſſacre which enſued reach his ears, than he put an immediate ſtop to the feſtivity, and exclaimed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the inhuman permiſſion; declaring at the ſame time, that thoſe who had connived at it, had thereby drawn down on that part of their king's dominions the vengeance of Heaven. To this he added, that he much feared the total loſs of them would deſervedly be the conſequence. How truly this prediction has been verified we all know.

Hints for eſtabliſhing a ſociety for promoting Uſeful Literature.

THE benefits that reſult from the moſt important diſcoveries, as well as the inconveniencies to which they are liable, depend chiefly upon the application of them to the purpoſes of ſociety. There is ſcarcely a bleſſing that may not be perverted, and, inſtead of being cultivated for the happineſs of mankind, may be rendered a ſource of miſery and injuſtice.

In the hiſtory of modern diſcoveries, none appear of more importance than the invention of the mariner's compaſs, and the art of printing; and they equally confirm the truth of this poſition.—The firſt, which gave us a new hemiſphere, aided by the capacious genius of Columbus, ſeems peculiarly calculated

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to promote the general good of mankind: but avarice and injuſtice have tarniſhed the glory of the Neapolitan diſcovery *, which, while it doubled the whole globe in magnitude, in proportion multiplied rapine, and diminiſhed the inhabitants of both the old and the new hemiſpheres.

It is not, however, my deſign to dwell upon this ſubject, but to turn my attention to that of printing, whoſe effects are obvious, and immediately intereſt all ranks of the community, as upon thoſe principles which literary productions impreſs on the mind, the manners and conduct of individuals are in a great meaſure formed. In ſuch an important influence on ſociety, it becomes the duty of its members to uſe every endeavour to prevent the abuſe, and ſecure the benefits. Whilſt we abhor and withſtand the cruel and bloody edicts of power and bigotry, which in a ſingle page conſign thouſands to death, or rob them of thoſe rights and privileges that are dearer even than life; let us not be indifferent to the ſlow, inſidious, but not leſs dangerous influence that flows from the pollutions of the preſs, in publications either immediately or ultimately unfriendly to virtue.

When we reflect upon the immenſe obligations which the community owe to uſeful authors, we cannot but feel a painful regret that great talents ſhould ever be waſted in unprofitable at leaſt, if not pernicious compoſitions, and a wiſh to have them vigorouſly applied to the moſt beneficial purpoſes. The proſtituted pen is doubtleſs impelled by want; for there cannot be any pleaſure in writing on the ſide of vice; and were the pecuniary advantages equal, no author ſurely could with-hold his ſupport from the cauſe of virtue.

On this ſubject I have frequently turned my thoughts, and as often wiſhed that a remedy adequate to the evil could be adopted, where probably it might be done, by exciting the public to the eſtabliſhment of A Society for promoting Uſeful Literature, a plan of which I ſhall hereafter communicate.

In France, literary patronage is faſhionable among the great; but in this country we boaſt of no Mecænas, the patronage of affluence being principally devoted to a political line. The ſingle protection indeed of the greateſt individual would avail but little, and at beſt would expire with the patron; but could a popular patronage be excited, its permanency would be certain, its extent ample, and the means equal to the neceſſary end.

When an author, by much expence of labour and time, informs and improves the community by his publications, its patronage is undoubtedly due to him; the members of it are his debtors, for the inſtruction he has ſpontaneouſly diffuſed; and what a pleaſure muſt it afford a generous public, united in A Society for promoting Uſeful Literature, to encourage, by ſome ſuitable gratuity, the ingenious labours of an indigent but uſeful writer! Had ſuch a ſyſtem been adopted, the amiable but diſtreſſed author, whoſe travels through North America afford a large and entertaining extract [181.] had not miſerably periſhed through want *, in the metropolis of a literary nation.

Where the ſituation of the author is above the want of a pecuniary gratuity; the Society might evince their approbation of his labours, by honorary rewards. In ſuch a liſt we might expect to enumerate the rival of Livy in the author of the hiſtories of Scotland, Charles V. and North America; the learned Bryant, whoſe Analyſis has ſo happily developed the chaos of ancient mythology; the modern Pliny in the claſſical Melmoth;

* Flavio Givia, a native of Amalfi, made this diſcovery, anno 1302.

* Though the publication of Capt. Carver's Travels through North America juſtly obtained the approbation of the public, yet the previous expences neceſſarily incurred by his family were ſcarcely liquidated by the rapid ſale of his publication. This compelled him to ſeek for other ſources of ſubſiſtence; and during the late lottery he was employed in an office, which afforded ſome temporary relief; but a dyſentery under which he laboured, aggravated by want, gradually undermined his conſtitution, and brought on a putrid fever that ſoon [Jan. 29. 1780.] put a period to his life. Whilſt humanity, however, laments the untimely loſs of ſo valuable a member of the community, there remains ſome conſolation in reflecting, that an opportunity of paying a tribute to his memory ſtill exiſts; for as he lived in diſtreſs, ſo in ſtill greater diſtreſs he left a widow and two young children, whoſe aggravated miſery can only be alleviated by the liberality of a generous public. *Gent. Mag.*

the biographical Johnson; the elegant author of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire; and many other useful and accomplished writers of the present period.

Were such a Society properly established, and liberally supported, its encouragement might be still more amply extended, and its objects multiplied: its resources I doubt not would soon enable it to propose prize-questions for the exercise and encouragement of genius and abilities. The widows and orphans of those who have laboured usefully in literature, would likewise appear suitable objects for participating the liberality of such a society; and the memory of departed genius be revived in marble, or other monuments of grateful respect. Though these might not outlive their literary productions, or preserve their names to more distant posterity; yet an honorary testimony to departed merit is a pleasing excitement to the living candidate for fame, and cherishes a noble emulation to survive temporary existence.

A Society thus calculated to promote literature, in proportion as it promoted truth and virtue, would not only be enabled in time to accomplish the desirable end of its institution, but likewise to raise a structure for its accommodation, with a library for general use: and by thus opening an agreeable and easy road to useful knowledge, it would afford the pleasing satisfaction of gradually introducing a national taste for Literature, and rendering it subservient to the best interests of virtue and religion.

JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM.

London, April 10. 1780.

The Arcana of Physic: An Anecdote.

THE celebrated Boerhaave ordered that all his manuscripts and books should be burnt, one large volume, with guilt leaves and silver clasps, excepted. The physical people flocked to Leyden, and intreated the executors to disobey the will. The effects were sold. A German Count, convinced that the great guilt book contained the whole arcana of physic, bought it at ten thousand guilders. It was all blank but the first page, on which was written, "Keep "the head cool, the feet warm, and "the body open; and bid defiance to "the physician."

PARLIAMENT. [140.]

LORD Newhaven complained in the House of Commons, Feb. 14. of the negligence of the receivers of the land-tax in their payments into the exchequer. They kept the money in their hands considerably longer than they ought, and, perhaps, turned it to their own advantage, before they brought it to the treasury. In his part of the country, the subjects had all paid the land-tax of 1778; in other parts of the kingdom, he supposed it had been also paid; and yet, in February 1779, there had been received at the exchequer no more than 350,000l. He could not well account for this scandalous delay; but as he was determined to search deep for the cause, he moved, "That the receiver general of the land-tax be ordered to lay before the House an account of the sums arising from the land-tax remaining in their hands at the end of the year 1779."

Sir Gray Cooper did not oppose the motion; but assured the Noble Lord, that the board of treasury had used every means in their power to accelerate the payments: nor had the board interfered in vain; for, of late, the payments had been much more regular and expeditious.

SIR George Saville made two motions in the House of Commons, Feb. 15.—The first was, for an address to the King, That his Majesty would order the proper officers to lay before the House, an account of all places, for lives, or during pleasure, held by patent, or otherwise; specifying the patent or other instrument, their dates, and the salaries, together with the fees of each office.—This motion met with no objection; though Lord North, Mr Cornwall, and the Attorney-General, pointed out some difficulties that would impede the expeditious execution of the order.

Sir George moved next, That an account of all pensions granted by the crown, together with the names of those to whom they were granted, and the sums respectively granted to each, be laid before the House.—This was opposed. Lord Nugent appealed to the feelings of the Hon. Baronet. He did not wish the people to be deprived of any necessary means of information, but he was persuaded the people would not wish any thing made public that could serve only to wound humanity. Many per-

sons

ſons of Noble decayed families lived on the bounty of the crown; many titled ladies owed their ſole ſupport to penſions: to hand their names about, would be to ſport with their poverty, and inſult their feelings. To call for the whole amount of the penſions, would ſurely anſwer the public ends the Hon. Baronet had in view. But it was impoſſible that inordinate grants could be made unknown to parliament: there was a public office where the penſions were paid, and a diſcovery might there be made if an unreaſonable ſum had been granted.—Sir George confeſſed that he acted contrary to his feelings: the neceſſitous he did not wiſh to wound; but the circumſtances of the times called upon him to act contrary to his feelings.—Mr Cornwall ſaid, he had no objection to the calling for penſions granted by warrant; for being granted for honourable ſervices, the pride of the penſioners would be thereby gratified: but to call for penſions granted in ſmall ſums, for the mere purpoſes of humanity, to perſons who had no parliamentary influence, and ſtood recommended only by their birth and diſtreſſes, would hurt the delicacy of thoſe perſons. He had no objection to the delivery of the total amount of penſions, as it was made up by Lord Gage, the paymaſter of the penſions, who always accounted in the lump for the ſums paid to this ſpecies of penſioners.—Mr T. Townſhend ſaid, that Lord Gage's liſt was the very thing he wiſhed to come at; for he was pretty ſure, that neither man nor woman of the leaſt oſtenſible merit was to be found upon it.—Lord North began to ſpeak; but Ld G. Gordon having obſerved, that the Speaker was taken ill, the Houſe adjourned.

The ſubject was reſumed Feb. 21. Ld North obſerved, that it was unuſual to call for the names of penſioners who received their penſions out of the civil liſt, over which parliament had given an abſolute juriſdiction to the crown. To admit the motion in its preſent extent, would be attended with diſagreeable circumſtances; to reject it, would furniſh gentlemen with a pretext to ſay that adminiſtration ſtood in the way of every inquiry that tended to the public good. To lay before the Houſe ſuch liſts as had been called for in this and the two laſt reigns, when the civil liſt was augmented, was what he had no objection to; and he thought the Houſe ought not to call for more. The penſions were of two ſorts, thoſe paid at the exchequer, and thoſe paid by Lord Gage. He would ſtate both to the Houſe in the groſs, that they might ſee how very little the nation would ſave by a reduction. In the exchequer the penſions were ſet down at 35,000 l.; but then this was in exchequer-language, where *penſio* was tranſlated penſion. But in theſe penſions were included ſalaries. Firſt, 5000 l. to the Lord Chancellor, which, though a ſalary, was called a penſion; 3000 l. additional ſalary to the Lord Chamberlain; 1500 l. to the Lord Steward; near 5000 l. for the ſupport of the Police; and ſeveral ſums for Profeſſors in both Univerſities, making in all upwards of 17,000 l. The amount of the penſions on Lord Gage's liſt was 58,000 l. in which were included numbers of ſmall penſions: to the French Proteſtants 8000 l.; to miniſters, ſchoolmaſters, profeſſors, &c. ſeveral large ſums. All theſe penſions were ſubject to a land-tax of 4 s. in the pound; and to an exchequer-tax of 1 s. 6 d.; ſo that blending both liſts, and deducting a tax of 5 s. 6 d. a-pound, there remained of penſions properly called only 48,000 l.: A ſum from which the nation could make but ſmall ſavings. If the people knew that the penſion-liſt was ſo low, he was ſure they never would have made it an object of complaint. The Hon. member who had laid down a plan of reformation, ſaid he would be ſatisfied if the liſt ſhould be reduced to 60,000 l. [154.]. At preſent it was conſiderably under that ſum. Therefore he ſhould appeal from the petitioners uninformed, to the people when they ſhould be informed. There were, indeed, penſions ſtill paid to the ſurviving ſervants of Q. Caroline, and about 13,000 l. a-year to the ſervants and penſioners of the Princeſs-dowager of Wales: but theſe penſions were daily falling off, and were not conſequently of a permanent nature. Lord Gage's liſt was public. At his office the penſions were paid quarterly; there was therefore publicity enough to ſhew whether improper ſums were granted: but there was not publicity enough to get at names for the purpoſe of inſerting them in magazines and news-papers, and expoſing them to the malicious, deſigning, envious comments of thoſe who were themſelves without penſions.

Several other members having ſpoke, Lord North propoſed two amendments to the motion: 1. That an account be

laid before the Houſe of penſions paid at the exchequer and by the paymaſter-general of the penſions only; and, 2. That the amount of the penſions, and not the reſpective penſions and to whom paid, ſhould be given therewith, diſtinguiſhing every year, from the 5th of January 1770.—Theſe amendments brought on a long debate; which ended in a perſonal altercation between Col. Barré and the Attorney General; but the Houſe interfering, they were reconciled. The Lord Advocate was warm in defence of his learned friend; and was ſurpriſed to hear the Hon. member talk of independent members, when every one preſent knew who ſent him there.

On a diviſion Lord North's amendments carried by a majority of two only; viz. Ayes 188, Noes 186.—Sir George then ſaid, that the amendments deſtroyed the intention of his motion, and he ſhould therefore give it up.

SIR Philip Jennings Clerke moved, on the 24th of February, for leave to bring in a bill to reſtrain the members of the Houſe from holding contracts with the treaſury, the navy, victualling, and other offices, unleſs ſuch contracts have been open to the beſt bidder. He enforced his motion by obſervations on the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, and the general cry of the people for a reformation in the expenditure of the public money, and for leſſening miniſterial influence in parliament; and added, that eighteen members who had lucrative contracts voting conſtantly with the miniſter, was an inſtance of the influence complained of.

Lord Nugent made a ſhort reply, giving it as his opinion, that there was leſs reaſon for this bill now than the year before, becauſe a committee of accounts had been agreed to [136.], and would be moved for, and therefore the queſtion concerning contractors would be properly referred to that committee.

Mr Townſhend ſtrongly ſupported the motion, as ſtrictly coinciding with the general plan of reformation now ſet on foot, and making a conſiderable branch of it. He hoped that the committee of accounts was not to be a bar to all other remedies intended to be applied to the national grievances.

The motion paſſed, and a committee was appointed to prepare and bring in the bill.——The bill was accordingly brought in, and was read a third time, and paſſed, by the Commons, March 20.

In the Houſe of Lords, April 14. the Duke of Bolton moved, that the bill, intitled, "A bill for the excluſion of contractors from the lower houſe of parliament," be read a ſecond time, and committed. But, after debate, the motion paſſed in the negative, 60 againſt 41.

SIR George Saville having given notice in the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 7. that he would next day preſent the Yorkſhire petition [50.], he accordingly preſented it on the 8th; and it was ordered to lie on the table. Many more petitions to the ſame purpoſe [162.] were afterwards preſented, and all were ordered to lie on the table. In ſome of the petitions no mention is made of appointing committees of correſpondence, and ſome proteſts were entered againſt ſuch appointments [51. 100.]. At a meeting held at the Shire-hall in the caſtle of Cheſter, April 11. Sir Thomas Broughton reprobated them: "We are not [ſaid he] to truſt to the oſtenſible views held out by theſe committees and aſſociations. They come to you at preſent clothed with plauſibility and peace; it is well if they do not end in all the naked horrors of deſolation and war! Ambitious men never fail in artifice to find out ſpecious pretences for their conduct: but what avail all the profeſſions of loyalty and peace, when we ſee meaſures purſued ſo ſubverſive of both? Has not one Hon. Gentleman, in the Houſe of Commons, (one of the firſt in integrity and property that this country knows, but overheated I fear by party), told you, that when the Yorkſhire freeholders ſigned their petition to parliament, they did not come with ſtaves in their hands, but if their petitions are diſregarded, they will—!" and there he ſtopped. I leave it to common ſenſe to declare the meaning of this peaceful language, this ſignifican[t] *But.*—Did not another Hon. Gentleman, ſpeaking there, ſay, "Let him make what efforts he would out of that Houſe, and he truſted he ſhould behave like a man!" I deſire the moſt candid to interpret, what kind of efforts thoſe were to which the Hon. Gentleman alluded; concluding his ſpeech with propoſing to adopt the following declarations: "Whereas a meeting of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county-palatine of Cheſter, was held at Norwich,

on the 13th day of January laſt paſt, for the purpoſe of petitioning parliament, and was there adjourned to the ſhire-hall, in the Caſtle of Cheſter, to be held on this 11th day of April; we, whoſe names are here under written, being freeholders of the ſaid county, met purſuant to the ſaid adjournment, do hereby reſolve, on the fulleſt conſideration, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the committee of correſpondence appointed at the original meeting at Norwich is not neceſſary; and that the ſame be, and hereby is, DISSOLVED; and that this meeting be adjourned *ſine die*: and that the chairman of this meeting do tranſmit a copy of this reſolution to the chairman of the ſaid committee." —— This motion was ſeconded by Sir Peter Warburton, and was unanimouſly agreed to.

MR Smith, member for Nottingham, informed the Commons, Feb. 21. that a proteſt had been tranſmitted to him from ſome of his conſtituents, againſt the petition which the corporation of Nottingham had lately preſented to parliament, reſpecting the extravagant expenditure of the public money. Greatly as he differed in opinion from the gentlemen who had ſigned the proteſt, he would willingly comply with their requeſt to deliver it to the Houſe, if he knew in what manner he was to proceed: he did not know whether the parchment he held in his hand was admiſſible or not; but he requeſted the Houſe would give him inſtructions in a matter which his inexperience in parliamentary forms rendered very difficult to him. That the Houſe might be informed of the contents of the proteſt, he read it as a part of his ſpeech. Hence it appeared, that the ſix junior council of the corporation of Nottingham had proteſted againſt the proceedings of the other eighteen; and that they aſſigned their reaſons for their diſſent. Mr Smith acknowledged, that the meaneſt individual had a right to ſpeak his ſentiments; and for that reaſon he would deliver his with that freedom that became an independent, that ſincerity that became an honeſt, man. The proteſters he could not think had acted properly, in oppoſing a meaſure that had received the ſanction of the corporation; but yet he would pay ſo great a deference to their requeſt, that if it was not inconſiſtent with the orders of the Houſe, the proteſt ſhould be brought up.

Col. Barré wiſhed the proteſt might be admitted. The petition aſſerted, that a great member of the empire had been cut off; the proteſtors declared the aſſertion not to be founded on truth: he would be happy to hear them ſupport their declaration at the bar.

Mr Fox wiſhed the forms would ſuffer the proteſt to be admitted. If it contained a prayer, it was admiſſible; if it did not, it was inadmiſſible: for his part he did not know by what name to call it; petition, remonſtrance, memorial, manifeſto, or libel. He was greatly inclined to give it the laſt name. He deſired to be informed for what purpoſe all the different proteſts through the kingdom had been ſigned. Was it that they might be laid before parliament? No: for, worded as they were, and having no prayer, they were inadmiſſible. For what other purpoſe, then? None that he could ſee, unleſs it were to endeavour to deceive the public, and counteract thoſe petitions which the grievances of the people had extorted from them.— He concluded with moving, That the proteſt might be brought up; though he confeſſed that he would put a negative upon it.

The Attorney-General ſaid, Mr Smith might have eaſily got rid of his difficulties, by letting his conſtituents know the eſtabliſhed order, that nothing could be admitted to come before parliament from the ſubjects, that did not come in the ſhape of a petition, containing a prayer. He could not, he ſaid, but admire the doctrine laid down by gentlemen, that it was legal to petition, but libellous to proteſt. No man could admit the right of petitioning to a greater extent than he did; but, from the very principle which eſtabliſhes the right, he deduced an equal right to proteſt. The ſubject having a right to expreſs his ſentiments, he had an undoubted right to declare, that ſentiments of other people attributed to him were not his ſentiments; and he could not conceive how gentlemen could reject the right in one inſtance, without overturning it in the other. A petition purporting to be the petition of the freeholders of a county, and yet containing poſitions which many freeholders in that county denied, ought not in juſtice to be binding on all; and if thoſe whoſe ſentiments it did not convey, ſhould proteſt againſt it, he could not tell on what ground of law, reaſon,

or common ſenſe, they could be pronounced libellers. He had not ſigned either petition or proteſt, and would not; and therefore could the more freely deliver his ſentiments on both. Some of the proteſts complained of aſſociations; but that was neither libellous nor wonderful. He, indeed, apprehended nothing from the preſent aſſociations; but gentlemen might remember, that a very great judge in the king's-bench, who was dead ſome years, had given it as his opinion, that aſſociations of every kind, though for legal purpoſes, were in themſelves illegal; nay, the aſſociation for carrying into execution the game-laws he had declared illegal, becauſe he would have the laws executed by their own force, and not by aſſociations. His private opinion did not go quite ſo far as that of the learned judge to whom he alluded, on the article of aſſociations; but he admitted that they had in general, though he apprehended nothing from them now, a natural tendency to confuſion. Upon the whole, he maintained, that the right of proteſting was as well eſtabliſhed as that of petitioning; and he could not but be ſurpriſed that gentlemen ſhould wiſh ſo far to controul others in the exerciſe of a right which they themſelves aſſumed,—to declare their opinions. To ſtand up for it in one caſe, and condemn it in another, was a monopoly of liberty on one ſide, and a proſcription of freedom on the other. Such conduct was unmanly, and unconſtitutional.

Sir Richard Sutton believed that the nature of the proteſt from Nottingham was not properly underſtood. The ſix junior council who had ſigned it, did not ſpeak for themſelves only, but for the burgeſſes of Nottingham. This appeared from the conſtitution of that corporation. The common council was compoſed of twenty-four perſons: eighteen of theſe were called the ſenior council, and filled up all vacancies in their body themſelves; the ſix junior, on the contrary, were elected by the burgeſſes at large; and if the burgeſſes had elected men of their own principles, which was moſt likely, the proteſt might be called the proteſt of the burgeſſes of the town of Nottingham, though it was ſigned only by ſix perſons. Theſe ſix were like ſo many tribunes of the people, elected for the purpoſe of watching over the ſelf-elected eighteen ſeniors of the common council.

Mr Burke inveighed warmly againſt the proteſt. That it was libellous, he inſiſted. It aſcribed the worſt of motives to the petitioners, and was worded in ſuch a manner, that it could not be brought before that court that was to try the merits of the petition. It gave the lie-direct to the corporation, in denying the poſition, that the empire had loſt one of its principal limbs. If they would come forward, and prove that we had not loſt a great part of the empire, he, for one, would move for opening the committee of ſupply, generouſly to reward them for the agreeable news. But the proteſt did not libel the petitioners only, it went ſo far as to libel that very Houſe, the honour of which it pretended to be zealous to ſupport. That Houſe was certainly the beſt judge of what was reſpectful or diſreſpectful to itſelf; it had found the petition from Nottingham ſo reſpectful, as to admit it, without objection; and yet the proteſters audaciouſly, and inſolently, ſet themſelves up as judges of what was due to the dignity of that Houſe, and pronounced that to be diſreſpectful which the Commons of England, ever jealous of their own dignity, had found ſo reſpectful as to admit without oppoſition. He knew the forms of the Houſe would not ſuffer the proteſt to be introduced; and he was ſorry for it, as he was greatly anxious to ſee all the proteſts laid upon the table.

Lord North found the arguments againſt the proteſt to be childiſh and abſurd. One gentleman had ſaid, that care had been taken to word it in ſuch a manner, that it might not be admitted: could that gentleman be ſerious, when he ſaw that it was addreſſed to the Commons of Great Britain, and had been tranſmitted to an Hon. member, to be by him preſented to them? He held it to be much more probable, that wiſhing that their proteſt might find its way into the Houſe, the proteſters had worded their ſentiments in the manner in which they appeared, merely becauſe they were uninformed of the order of the Houſe. To argue from the informality to the intention of men little converſant in parliamentary forms, was what logic would not juſtify; but to convert this informality into a libel, was a ſtretch of reaſoning that nothing but extravagance could countenance or approve. Another gentleman had accuſed the proteſters

teſters of diſreſpect to the Houſe, even while they were rejecting a petition merely becauſe they thought it diſreſpectful: and he proved they had been wrong, becauſe the Houſe had not objected to the petition. For his part, he could not admit, that becauſe a petition is ſuffered to be brought up, it muſt neceſſarily follow, from that circumſtance, that it is critically reſpectful. If the object of a petition was in itſelf proper and conſtitutional, he always held the right of petitioning ſo ſacred, that he would not oppoſe its introduction becauſe it might be worded in a more reſpectful manner: therefore the gentleman ought not to have made its admiſſion without oppoſition, a ground for proving that it was reſpectful. But even if it was ſo, the proteſters in the preſent caſe were free from any imputation of intentional diſreſpect to the Houſe, becauſe they had drawn up their proteſt, before the petition againſt which it had been levelled, had been preſented to the Houſe. However, if it had been made after the admiſſion of the petition, the proteſt contained only an opinion, and it was rather unkind to handle people ſo ſeverely, for an opinion, as had been the proteſters from Nottingham. For his part, he was not without his opinion on the ſubject; and he agreed pretty well with the proteſters: Aſſociations at preſent he held to be highly dangerous, as they had a natural tendency to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord and diviſion in the ſtate, when unanimity and concord were ſo neceſſary.

Mr Fuller ſaid, that when the petition for Suſſex was agreed to, he was neceſſarily abſent. The petition was produced ready framed at the county-meeting, and agreed to in one day. When he read the petition he diſapproved of it. Was it improper in him to expreſs that diſapprobation publicly? was it libellous in him to ſay that he was not included in that petition which purported to be from the county at large? Was it candid in gentlemen to call him a libeller? Did not thoſe who called him by ſo opprobrious a name, for having done that in which he was warranted by reaſon and the conſtitution, deſerve the appellation of libellers themſelves? He knew that many gentlemen were prevented, as he had been, from attending the county-meeting; he therefore contended, that he and they had a juſt and indiſputable right to diſclaim thoſe opinions which the petition falſely aſcribed to them.

Mr Adam could not but condemn the gentlemen who reprobated as libellers, thoſe who held aſſociations in general to be dangerous. The preſent aſſociations he was not afraid of; but it was becauſe he truſted to the moderation of the gentlemen engaged in them; otherwiſe he held them to be of ſo dangerous a tendency, that if they ſhould become general, they might at laſt degenerate into meetings abſolutely dictatorial, and which, in the end, would render the parliament a mere court of record, to regiſter their arbitrary dictates.

Mr T. Townſhend ſaid a few words in reply; but the order of the day being called for, Mr Fox's motion fell to the ground.

Lord North informed the Commons, March 2. that he had a motion to make, which he was then ready to ſubmit to their conſideration, if they were willing to admit it without a conteſt; if, on the contrary, the Houſe ſhould be inclined to diſpute it, he would only read it as notice of a motion which he would make on a future day. It was for leave to bring in a bill, to appoint a commiſſion of accounts, to inſpect the expenditure of public money; to diſcover peculations or embezzlements, if any ſuch exiſted; to find out what balances were in the hands of the officers of the crown, in order to apply them to the public uſe; and to find out means to accelerate the making up of accounts in the exchequer. —A bill grounded upon this motion, his Lordſhip preſumed, would go a great way towards the reformation ſo much deſired by the people of England: it would correct abuſes in the exchequer, and render at leaſt leſs tedious many modes of accounting. He did not, however, expect that every thing could be remedied by it; for in the exchequer there were many things in their nature abſolutely without remedy. That gentlemen might not take umbrage at the choice he might make of commiſſioners, he propoſed, that they ſhould not be members of either Houſe of Parliament; —that they ſhould be ſworn; —that they ſhould have power to examine witneſſes upon oath; —and that they ſhould ſit the whole year; by which they would be enabled to do infinitely more buſineſs than a committee of that Houſe, whoſe ſittings would be interrupted by a prorogation. In a word,

from

from a commiſſion ſo conſtituted, he flattered himſelf that very great benefits would ariſe to the nation.

Mr Burke ſaid, he could not but oppoſe the motion, if the Noble Lord ſhould perſevere in making it then, as it abſolutely ſuperſeded three very eſſential parts of his bill, the ſecond reading of which was to come on that day.

Lord North deſired the Houſe would take what he had ſaid only as a notice of, not as a motion then made.

Col. Barré did not think that the Noble Lord had dealt very genteelly by him. The thought which had given riſe to the Noble Lord's plan, had originated with him, and by him had been communicated to the Houſe [136.]. He expected to have had the honour of bringing in a bill himſelf on the ſubject; but as it had fallen into better hands, he would not envy the Noble Lord the honour that might ariſe from it.

The Colonel then made two motions, which paſſed without oppoſition: 1. for an account of the fees and perquiſites received by the officers of the mint at the late recoinage of the gold coin; 2. for an account of all the money received into the exchequer, and by all the ſubordinate collectors and receivers of public money throughout the kingdom, up to the end of the year 1778, the year ending at Michaelmas.

Lord George Gordon was of opinion, that the Noble Lord ſhould make his motion then, in conformity to the prayer of the county-petitioners, that reformation ſhould precede taxation. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt had talked a good deal of reformation; and what did it all end in? in an attack upon poor *Mat o' the Mint*, (alluding to the Colonel's motion relative to the officers of the mint). Inſtead of being angry with the Noble Lord for bringing forward his commiſſion of accounts before he opened the budget, he ought to have thanked him. For his part, he was ſo anxious to have the deſire of the people complied with, that he would then move, (and did move accordingly), "That the humble and judicious prayer contained in the ſpirited petitions of the good people of England, be taken into conſideration on Thurſday next."

Mr J. Luttrell ſeconded the motion; but it was not reliſhed by the Houſe. Lord George ſeemed determined to divide; and when requeſted not to cauſe the gallery, which was very crouded, to be cleared, his Lordſhip exclaimed, "I am determined to take the ſenſe of the Houſe. I have broken off from thoſe with whom I uſed to vote, becauſe I ſaw they were inconſiſtent, and drew different ways. For my part, Mr Speaker, as ſoon as I broke from them, I got friends all over Scotland and England; and as conſiſtency is my grand object, I will not be diverted from my purpoſe, as I then ſhould be inconſiſtent with myſelf."

The gallery was cleared; and, as uſual, his Lordſhip ſtood alone, the gentleman who had ſeconded him having walked out of the Houſe.

After a ſhort introductory ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, March 13. Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill, to appoint and enable commiſſioners to take, ſtate, and make out public accounts; to aſcertain what balances were in the hands of public officers; to diſcover what defects exiſted in the mode of making up accounts in the exchequer; and to report to the Houſe what they ſhould deem the beſt method to remove them.

Mr J. Johnſtone ſuggeſted an amendment to the motion: there were defects and delays in collecting the public revenue, which called as much for proper regulations, as the mode of paſſing accounts; he therefore moved, that a proviſion reſpecting collection ſhould be inſerted in the bill. To this Lord North had no objection.

Sir George Yonge wanted to know, if the commiſſion was to be perpetual, how the commiſſioners were to proceed, and of what number the commiſſion ſhould conſiſt. He did not like that part of the bill which propoſed a commiſſion of accounts conſiſting of perſons not members of parliament.

Lord North replied, that though he had thrown out that idea when he firſt gave notice of the bill, yet he had ſpecified no ſuch propoſition in the title of the bill, which contained the ſubſtance of the heads of it, and which he had juſt now read to the Houſe; that the only queſtion before the Houſe at preſent was, Whether they would give leave to bring in a bill, of which a reform in the public accounts was the object?

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke ſaid, that the Noble Lord in the blue ribbon was in the ſituation of a perſon, who, being accuſed or ſuſpected of a crime, inſiſted

on the privilege of nominating his judges and jury.

Col. Barré ſaid, that the bill was not now his bill; it was in the hands of the Noble Lord; and that he would be watchful to obſerve, whether he ſeriouſly meant to render it an effectual, a beneficial meaſure, or if it was only meant and intended to delude the people.

Lord Irnham ſaid, that he would never conſent to an appointment of a commiſſion of accounts, conſiſting of perſons out of parliament; becauſe that would be renouncing the privileges, and abandoning the duty, of the repreſentatives of the people.

Meſſ. Burke and Dempſter, and Lord Newhaven, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe.—Mr Burke ſaid, that the Noble Lord was to erect a new board, to create new dependents, and to increaſe the public expence inſtead of diminiſhing it.

The Attorney-General ſaid, that the only queſtion before the Houſe was, Whether a bill ſhould be brought in for a commiſſion of accounts in general? The mode of forming that commiſſion; the perſons of whom it ſhould be compoſed; the ſalaries that ſhould be allowed them, or whether any ſhould be allowed them; theſe, with other particulars, would be entered into and diſcuſſed afterwards. He could not but obſerve, however, that if the Noble Lord near him had propoſed to appoint a commiſſion of perſons in parliament, the clamour againſt that meaſure would have been ſtill louder and more violent. If the commiſſion did their duty, it was a matter of indifference of whom it conſiſted; and if they did not their duty, it would be a ſmall conſolation to reflect that they were members of parliament. But this he obſerved, that the commiſſion the Noble Lord wiſhed to be appointed, was a commiſſion that would be efficient, and do its duty; for the title of the bill ſets forth, that it was for a commiſſion for examining and ſtating the public accounts; but if they ſhould omit any thing in the ſtate of their accounts, that would not be examining and ſtating the public accounts, therefore they would not be the commiſſion that the Noble Lord deſired ſhould be appointed. He ſhewed from hiſtory, that the appointment of a commiſſion, conſiſting of perſons out of parliament, was not a perfect novelty, and that ſuch a commiſſion had produced good effects.

Mr W. Ellis ſuggeſted a reaſon why it would be better to appoint to the commiſſion gentlemen who were out of parliament; for if it ſhould at preſent be deemed expedient to name none but members to it, the appointment might be attended with inconvenience at the diſſolution of parliament, an event which muſt take place at fartheſt in little more than a year. But let the determination of the Houſe on that ſubject be what it might, he earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the commiſſion appointed, becauſe he held an office which rendered him an object of the commiſſion.

Mr Alderman Harley wiſhed earneſtly for a commiſſion of accounts, which would relieve him from a great deal of odium. His accounts were ready, and ſo clear, that any gentleman could be maſter of them in leſs than two hours, though millions had paſſed through his hands. He complained of the conduct of a Noble Lord in the Upper Houſe, who had ſpoken of him in a very diſreſpectful manner;—nay, who had gone ſo far as to libel him. That Noble Lord had coupled him with another, under the denomination of *curſed contractors*; and had accuſed him of having endeavoured to ſtarve the province of Canada, by buying up all the corn and flour in it. This accuſation, he ſaid, contained a diabolical falſehood; and he called upon the Houſe for protection againſt charges made in a place where he could not defend himſelf. Inſtead of making uſurious contracts, he was obliged to give the nation credit long before he touched their money, as he accepted bills of exchange for the remittance of money to America.

Mr Burke ſhewed, that an account then on the table, of the expenditure of a million of money vote of credit, muſt be falſe, if what the Hon. member ſaid was true; for that account ſtated, that ſuch and ſuch ſums had been delivered to Thomas Harley, Eſq; for the purpoſe of buying Portugal coin, to ſend to America. That gentleman, however, in contradiction to the account, had juſt ſaid, that it was by bills of exchange that the money had been remitted, and not in coined gold from Portugal.

Mr Harley ſaid, that the account was drawn up in an old official form; that remittances were always made in Spaniſh or Portugal coin, while ſuch coin was to be had; but the balance of trade

being againſt us, and the gold and ſilver of theſe two countries being conſequently ſcarce among us, it became neceſſary to remit Britiſh money. This had been done by bills of exchange, the moſt beneficial mode to the nation, as the people had thereby an opportunity of availing themſelves of the advantage that would accrue to them when the exchange ſhould be in their favour.

Col. Barré roſe again to requeſt that the Houſe would take notice of the vaſt ſums that paſſed through the contractors hands; 1,000,000 l. the laſt year's vote of credit, was accounted for in a ſtrange manner: 1,600,000 l. more had been already remitted to America, excluſive of perhaps 2,000,000 l. more that had not as yet been accounted for. In theſe ſums was not included a ſingle ſhilling of pay for the troops; for they had all been remitted under the head of army-extraordinaries. When ſuch vaſt ſums were remitted, a provident miniſter would have inſiſted on better terms for the people than thoſe that had been made by the Noble Lord. But there was little to be expected from a miniſter who ſtood convicted before the Houſe of having made a fraudulent contract; of having given 4 s. 6 d. a-gallon for rum, when he might have had it for 2 s. 2 d. The Colonel then repeated the whole of the old charge of the rum-contract with Mr Atkinſon.

Lord North took fire at the aſſertion of the former ſpeaker, — that he ſtood convicted of fraud. He ſaid it was a direct falſehood: he would willingly join iſſue with him upon that queſtion; and on it he was ready to ſtake his honour, his reputation, his fortune, and his life. His Lordſhip repeated the defence he had made in the two laſt ſeſſions, and clearly explained how he had been led into an error, by taking for the baſis of his agreement the navy-contract, which he thought he might have ſafely done, as he knew that the navy-board advertiſed its contracts, and gave them all to the loweſt bidder.—As to the objection made to his propoſition of excluding members of parliament from the commiſſion, he was not at all ſurpriſed at it; for it was a practice with ſome gentlemen, to condemn every meaſure propoſed by him: they had their views in it, no doubt; he was however ſatisfied that they would be diſappointed; for as he was to have the public for his judges, he was ſure that at their tribunal it muſt be pronounced, that he had acted in a manner expreſſive of his ſincere intention to ſee that the public money was properly applied.—He meant no reflection on the abilities of the Houſe, when he propoſed that none of its members ſhould be of the commiſſion. He had ſaid before, and he then repeated it, that there were, to his knowledge, many members in that Houſe who were fully equal to the office. But leſt the public ſhould ſuſpect that party might interfere, he had preſumed that perſons out of parliament would be the moſt proper; and as he would not give his vote for any who had not a reputation to loſe, he could not ſee any danger to the ſtate in their appointment, or the ſmalleſt ſhadow of a charge that he meant to make a mockery of the inquiry.

The queſtion was at laſt put, and carried without a diviſion.

In purſuance of leave given, Feb. 14. [137.], Mr Burke preſented a bill, Feb. 23. "for the better regulation of his Majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of penſions, and the ſuppreſſion of ſundry uſeleſs, expenſive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies ſaved thereby to the public ſervice:" which was read a firſt time, ordered to be printed, and to be read a ſecond time on the 2d of March.

The bill ſets forth, That large aids having been granted to his Majeſty in ſupport of the preſent war, have cauſed a conſiderable increaſe of the public debt, and ſubjected the people of this realm to many burdens and inconveniencies: That farther grants and burdens may be ſtill neceſſary; and it is the duty of the repreſentatives of the Commons of the land, that due care ſhould be taken, by a reduction of unneceſſary charges, by introducing a better order into the management of the expences of his Majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, by rendering the public accounts more eaſy, by a farther ſecurity for the independence of parliament, and by applying the monies which are not now ſo properly huſbanded to the public ſervice, to afford all poſſible relief to the people of this realm, thereby adding ſtrength to his Majeſty's government: and therefore enacts, That the office of Third Secretary of State, or Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the board of Trade and Plantations, ſhall be aboliſhed. There are clauſes, declaring by whom the duties of ſuch offices ſhall be performed.

The

The bill further ſets forth, That the conſtitution of his Majeſty's Court and Houſehold, being in many particulars inconvenient, and having a tendency to create expence; it therefore enacts, That the offices of Treaſurer of the Chamber, the Treaſurer of the Houſehold, and the ſeveral other offices of his Majeſty's Houſehold therein mentioned, with their dependencies, ſhall be aboliſhed.—There are clauſes, for transferring the juriſdiction of the Green Cloth to other perſons, and for providing for the tables of his Majeſty's houſehold by contract; —for aboliſhing the offices of the Great Wardrobe, and removing wardrobe and other offices therein mentioned, with their dependencies;—for aboliſhing the board of Works, and for appointing a ſurveyor or comptroller of his Majeſty's buildings and gardens, and for providing for the expences attending the ſame by contract; —for declaring, that all ſalaries and charges of his Majeſty's Houſehold ſhall be paid at the exchequer;—that the furniture and moveables of his Majeſty's Houſehold ſhall be purchaſed by contract; —for declaring, that his Majeſty's ſtables ſhall be ſupplied by contract; —that the offices of Maſter of the Buck-Hounds, Fox-Hounds, and Harriers, be aboliſhed, and the duty performed by the Senior Equerry, and to be provided for by contract;—for making regulations in the body of Yeomen of the Guard, and band of Gentlemen-Penſioners;—for aboliſhing the office of Paymaſter of the Penſions, directing that all penſions ſhall hereafter be paid at the exchequer; —for limiting the ſum to be appropriated to the penſion-liſt;—for regulating the private liſts of penſions;—to limit the ſum of money to be iſſued for ſecret ſervice in one year; —for regulating the iſſuing of money for foreign and ſecret ſervice; —for regulating the method of iſſuing money for the purpoſe of ſpecial ſervice; —for claſſing the order of payments of his Majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, and for applying the balance of ſuch accounts.

The bill further ſets forth, That there having been great delays in paſſing the accounts of Paymaſter-General and Treaſurer of the Navy; it directs, the iſſuing the money for the uſe of thoſe offices reſpectively to the Bank of England.—There are clauſes, directing the method and times of making up their accounts, and for compelling the payment of balances.

In order that no reformation made by this act ſhould operate as a retroſpective penalty, and to put an end to ſuits between the public and private perſons, the bill enacts, That commiſſioners be appointed by his Majeſty, to call before them ſeveral accountants, againſt whom balances are returned, in order to examine, and to proceed, in ſuch manner as in the bill is mentioned.

The bill further ſets forth, That ſeveral of the chief offices in the Exchequer being held for life, and having been granted as an honourable proviſion for the perſons or families of thoſe who have ſerved the ſtate, and which the law of the land hath inſured to them, it is equally expedient that the crown ſhould not in future be debarred from the means of making an honourable proviſion for thoſe who ſerve the ſtate; and therefore enacts, what ſhall be the ſalary of certain offices of the Exchequer after the lives of the preſent poſſeſſors, and grantees in reverſion.

The bill ſets forth, That the conſtitution of the Mint is expenſive, and that the coinage ought to be of none or little expence to the nation; and therefore enacts, That the office of the Mint ſhall be aboliſhed.—There are clauſes, for paying ſalaries to the preſent officers of the Mint, who ſhall be removed:—That the Treaſury ſhall contract with the Bank for coinage:—That the Bank ſhall undertake the remittance of all money for the uſe of his Majeſty's forces in foreign parts;—declaring what perſons ſhall hereafter be Deputy-Paymaſter or Army-Agents.

The bill ſets forth, That the board of Ordnance is properly a military concern, and at preſent attended with great expence to the public; and therefore enacts, That the civil branch of the ſaid board ſhall be ſuppreſſed.—There are clauſes, directing in what manner the ſaid office ſhall be executed, both for the land and naval ſervice; for appointing a commiſſion directed to certain commiſſioners, who are to regulate all things relative to the Ordnance, and to bring the ſame to a more perfect conformity to military purpoſes.

There are alſo clauſes, for carrying the ſalaries, fees, and other ſums of money, ſaved by virtue of this act, to the ſinking fund;—to declare, that no office ſhall be created in the nature, or for the purpoſes, of thoſe aboliſhed by

this act;—for appointing commiſſioners, to hear the repreſentations of perſons aggrieved by this act; and for giving perſons diſplaced by this act a right to the ſucceſſion to vacant offices.

Mr Burke, March 2. moved for the ſecond reading of the bill, and the motion paſſed unanimouſly.—He then moved for committing the bill. This motion was oppoſed by Ld G. Gordon; but carried, 211 againſt 91.—Mr Burke then moved, "That the bill be committed to-morrow." Lord Beauchamp obſerved, that the bill involving matter of the utmoſt magnitude, ought not to be hurried: he therefore moved, That "on Wedneſday next" ſhould be inſerted inſtead of "to-morrow." Lord Nugent ſeconded the motion. Mr T. Townſhend had no objection to the amendment, if the miniſter did not intend to carry the delay beyond Wedneſday. Lord North declared, he intended no further delay; he meant *bona fide* to go into the committee on Wedneſday if the Houſe ſhould agree to the amendment: he had been candid from the beginning; he had ſaid he would not give the bill the leaſt oppoſition before it ſhould get into the committee, and he ſtill had the ſame intention. He ſhould certainly open the budget on Monday. On a diviſion, the numbers were, for the amendment 230, againſt it 195.

Before calling for the order of the day, March 8. Ld G. Gordon ſaid, he had inſurmountable objections to the reformation-plan. The petitions of the people called for an abolition of ſinecure places; and yet the framers and ſupporters of the plan for reformation had made an attack on efficient places, while they ſpecifically covered thoſe which required no labour or attendance. Such conduct was ſtrange in men, who being loud and declamatory for the abolition of ſinecure offices, were themſelves the firſt to counteract the prayer of the petitions, becauſe the perſons who enjoyed thoſe uſeleſs offices were ſupporters of Oppoſition. For his part, as he wiſhed to ſee the petitions properly attended to, he would move, (and did move accordingly), "That inſtructions be given to the committee on the bill for regulating his Majeſty's civil liſt, to try whether it was neceſſary to maintain the offices of Auditor and Tellers of his Majeſty's Exchequer; to aboliſh them if poſſible, and to convert to the public ſervice the ſavings that might accrue from their abolition, in order to alleviate the burdens of the people."

Mr Jolliffe ſeconded the motion.

Mr Burrell ſaid, he hoped no man would dare deny the right of the people to petition parliament; at the ſame time he could not help expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, that any ſhould be found ſo irrational, as to aſſert, that petitions, the main object of which was a recommendation of œconomy in a criſis of great and increaſing expence, were ill-timed: but, while he held theſe opinions, he could not ſubſcribe to the doctrine, that the petitions contained the voice of the people; they were the petitions of thoſe only who ſubſcribed them, and in his conſcience he did not believe an eighth part of the freeholders of G. Britain, by the majority of whom the ſenſe of the people was to be learnt, had ſigned them. As little would he admit, that parliament were bound to ſacrifice their own judgements to the petitioners: they ought, and it was their duty, to treat them reſpectfully; to liſten to them, and, as far as they could conſiſtently with the general good, to comply with their requeſts.

Mr Huſſey reprehended Mr Burrell for having ſaid, that a majority of the freeholders ſpoke the ſenſe of the people of England.

Mr Burrell, in explanation, replied, that he had haſtily let drop an expreſſion which did not convey his opinion.

Lord North obſerved, that the preſent motion was unneceſſary, but declared it was ſtrictly the duty of the Houſe, when in a committee, to attend to the ſpirit of it, and to hold in view all that the Noble Lord, who moved it, had ſaid.

The order of the day being then called for, Mr Rigby ſaid, that ſome parts of the bill ſhould get his warmeſt concurrence, he meant thoſe parts which related to paſſing the accounts in exchequer, particularly in his office [the tax-office]. The plan propoſed would greatly accelerate the auditing of accounts, and take off from him, and thoſe who ſhould ſit in his office, a great deal of obloquy and public odium. But there were other parts which he was inclined to condemn. He had his doubts of the power of parliament to reſume, without cauſe, any part of the revenue, which had been ſettled on his Majeſty at his acceſſion to the throne, in lieu of thoſe

revenues

revenues which had formerly been the hereditary ſupport of the crown. He had given his vote to the act which had eſtabliſhed the fund for the ſupport of the civil liſt; and he did not know whether the parliament could reſume their grant without a violation of juſtice. If any flagrant abuſe of that grant exiſted, and had been proved, then his doubts would have been removed, and he would have been perfectly clear, that parliament was fully competent to a reſumption; but no ſuch abuſe appeared. —It had been propoſed to aboliſh the offices of Auditor and Tellers of the Exchequer. He declared he would as ſoon vote for taking away one of the three eſtates. He wiſhed that the property of the crown might be held ſacred by parliament. If reformation is neceſſary, in the name of God, ſaid he, begin with thoſe offices, the ſalaries of which are ſaid to be too great: begin with mine; take the half of it, nay take the whole; but ſpare the crown. If the whole of my ſalary ſhould be taken from me, it would not make me quit my office a day ſooner; and I ſhould be happy if the ſacrifice of my private emoluments ſhould guard from violation and injuſtice the property and prerogative of the crown. —As to petitions, ſaid he, they are what the ſubjects have a right to prefer to parliament; but their containing a prayer is a proof that parliament has the power to reject them. Their language is reſpectful enough; but ſtill it is not the language of all the people of England. In the county where I live [Eſſex] people could not be induced to ſign one. It is true indeed that one has been handed about; but the freeholders all rejecting it, its title was obliged to be changed from "the petition of the freeholders," to that of "the petition of all perſons paying taxes." Succeſs however has not attended this alteration: ſo that it may be fairly deduced from this refuſal to ſign in the county where I live, that a petition may be a very reſpectable thing in Yorkſhire, and a very contemptible thing in Eſſex [162.] —Mr Rigby concluded, by expreſſing his wiſhes that parliament would pronounce on the ſubject of its rights to reſume its grants; and that his doubts on that head might be removed, he ſaid he had drawn up a reſolution to the following purport, which he intended to ſubmit to the Houſe, the firſt opportunity. "Reſolved, That it is unjuſt to deprive the crown of its property, rights, and prerogatives, before due proofs are exhibited, that by flagrant abuſes the meaſure is rendered neceſſary."

A very warm converſation enſued upon this occaſion; in which Mr Fox, Gen. Conway, Lord North, the Attorney-General, and Mr Dunning, were the principal ſpeakers.

Mr Fox and his friends inſiſted, that Mr Rigby ought to put his motion directly, and that the Houſe ſhould debate it fully before they proceeded to the order of the day, as it militated againſt the principle of the bill; and it would render it in vain to commit it; for if the propoſition ſhould be admitted, that the Houſe had not a power to reſume any part of the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, there was an end to the matter at once. He declared, that if this was carried, he never would open his lips again within thoſe walls in favour of the liberties of his country, however he might ſtruggle for them, and take all lawful means to ſupport them, without doors. Neither ſhould he any longer conſider himſelf as living in a land of freedom.

Mr Rigby, apprehending he was reflected upon, warmly aſſerted, that he was as ſtrenuous a friend to the liberties of his country as any man in the Houſe; but he was not to be terrified out of his motion, neither was he to be coaxed out of it by any miniſter: the doubt was honeſt; it was founded, in his opinion, on juſtice, and the uſage of parliament; and he wiſhed to have the matter cleared up.

Gen. Conway expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the doubt, after his Majeſty had authoriſed the Noble Lord in the blue riband to ſignify his conſent that the Houſe ſhould proceed upon this bill; which appeared to him to convey an acknowledgement of the principle of the bill, and that it was not meant to oppoſe it.

Lord North denied that any ſuch idea was conveyed by the aſſent he was authoriſed to give; he ſaid it did not bind him any more than it did his Majeſty; it was only an aſſent as to the form of of bringing bills into parliament that affected the King's property, and he held himſelf as free to oppoſe the bill in any ſtage the moment after he had ſignified ſuch aſſent as before: neither was he bound, in any reſpect as a miniſter, from acting as he ſhould think right as a member

ber of parliament; but he wiſhed to wave the diſcuſſion of the motion, and to commit the bill; he therefore ſhould certainly move the order of the day.

The Attorney-General ſpoke to the illegality of taking from a man any part of his property conferred upon him by the law of the land, unleſs he has committed ſome offence by which he has forfeited his right; and he could not ſee how it was poſſible to reſume any part of the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, without firſt repealing the acts by which it was granted to his Majeſty.

The queſtion for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair for the Houſe to go into a committee on the bill being put, a diviſion followed, when it was carried by 205 againſt 199.

The committee then proceeded to the firſt enacting clauſe in Mr Burke's bill, Mr Elwes, knight of the ſhire for Berkſhire, in the chair. The clauſe enacts, That from and after —— the office of Third Secretary of State, for the Colonies, the ſame not being neceſſary, ſhall be aboliſhed, together with the Under-Secretaries, Clerks, &c.

Mr Pownal remarked, that in the patent by which Ld G. Germain holds his office there are no ſuch words as "Secretary of State for the Colonies;" and therefore moved, That the words, "for the Colonies," be left out: which was agreed to.

Ld G. Germain informed the Houſe, that he did not conſider himſelf as firſt, ſecond, or third Secretary of State, but as one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, by which deſcription alone he had the honour to hold the ſeal.

Mr Burke readily admitting an amendment, the clauſe was amended in this manner: "That one of the offices of Secretary of State ſhall be taken away and aboliſhed; and the duties of the ſaid office ſhall be done or performed by one or both of the two remaining Secretaries of State."

This gave riſe to a long debate, which laſted till half after two in the morning. Lord Beauchamp, the Secretary at War, Ld G. Germain, the Lord Advocate, Mr Mansfield, and Ld George Gordon, ſpoke againſt the bill: Meſſ. Burke, T. Townſhend, Dunning, Fox, J. Luttrell, and Viner, and Lord Ongley, for it.

Ld G. Germain ſtated the real expence of his office to the public, and what the aboliſhing of it would ſave them. He declared, that it was by no means a ſinecure; that the whole coſt was 8000 l. a-year; that his income from it was barely 3100 l. a-year; that if it were aboliſhed, and the buſineſs done by the other Secretaries, the public might ſave 5000 l. a-year; but if the Secretary for the Southern department was allowed the aſſiſtance of two *Commis* and four clerks, as Lord Shelburne was when he was Secretary for the Southern department, the public would only ſave 4000 l. a-year by the abolition of the office.

On a diviſion, Mr Burke's motion was loſt by ſeven votes, the numbers being Ayes 201, Noes 208.

The committee ſat again March 13. The clauſe under diſcuſſion this day was that for aboliſhing the board of Trade. —— Mr Eden (one of the preſent Lords of Trade) obſerved, that a board long and conſtitutionally eſtabliſhed, ought not to be aboliſhed without cauſe; that there was evidence of its utility on record, conſiſting of 2300 volumes, containing the tranſactions of the board, and likewiſe the oral evidence of Mr Pownall, who had been thirty years ſecretary to it.

Mr Pownal ſhewed, that the board of Trade was totally inadequate at the preſent time to the purpoſes for which it was inſtituted, and was convinced, that juſtice, policy, propriety, all required that that eſtabliſhment ſhould be aboliſhed.

Sir Edward Deering adverted to the conduct of a Rt Hon. Gentleman, reſpecting his principle ſuggeſted on Wedneſday laſt, That the Houſe had no controul over the King's civil liſt.

Mr Rigby obſerved, that when he ſaid the parliament had no controul over the King's civil liſt, he never meant to ſay that they had no over-ruling power in any caſe whatſoever. They certainly had. But there ought to be ſome abuſe of the civil liſt firſt proved. If the judges ſalaries, for inſtance, were unpaid, or refuſed, that would be an abuſe, and parliament could have a right to enquire into it.—With reſpect to the people of England, he thought their petitions truly reſpectable, and that the miniſter could not decently remain in office if the voice of the people was againſt him.

Mr Fox declared, that he would not retract from the declaration he had made

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on a former day, and he wiſhed inſtantly to meet him on the ground, and decide upon it. He had declared, that if ſuch a doctrine was eſtabliſhed, they muſt go to another place, and reſcue themſelves from ſlavery by other arguments than words.—He called upon Sir Fletcher Norton, as the higheſt legal authority in the kingdom, to tell his opinion, whether there was not, in the conſtitution of parliament, an inherent right in the repreſentatives of the people to controul the exerciſe of any power in the crown that tended to ſupport a government by influence and corruption, againſt the voice of the people, againſt the redreſs of every national grievance, and in ſubverſion of the freedom and independence of parliament.

The Speaker ſtated, with the utmoſt latitude, the right of the ſubject to petition, and the duty of parliament to give the utmoſt attention to the deſires of their conſtituents; but that, in the preſent inſtance, the known integrity, apparent ability, and extenſive property, rendered the preſent petitions as reſpectable as if they had proceeded from the general voice of the people of England. Aſſociations and committees he thought beyond the line of conſtitutional application, and might run to exceſſes that were dangerous to public peace, and the ſecurity of the ſtate itſelf: but the petitions deſerved a better treatment than they had found; they ought immediately to have been referred to a committee, and the people of England ought to have been ſatisfied how far the prayers of the petitions could or could not be complied with.—With regard to the queſtion of right, Whether parliament had a right? he was free to declare, that as parliament had granted the civil liſt for life, and given it in truſt, as long as the conditions of the truſt were obſerved parliament ought not, and therefore he would ſay could not interfere in the expenditure of that revenue which they had given in truſt. The conditions of that truſt were but two:—to maintain his houſehold in dignity,—and to ſupport the civil government of the country. Had it been proved, or even ſuggeſted, that the civil government had been ſtopped, or the King's houſehold not properly maintained? We have no right, then, at this time, to interfere with the controul of the King's houſehold, much leſs to impoſe conditions on the management of his own domeſtic affairs, in a manner that the meaneſt ſubject could not bear. But the queſtion before us involved, not only a queſtion of domeſtic arrangement, but a queſtion of ſtate; and ſuch matters were in every inſtance liable to the inſpection, and were the immediate objects of the controul of parliament. The board of Trade was a department of ſtate, not of the houſehold; it was become, not only uſeleſs in its functions, but miſchievous in its effects; it anſwered now no purpoſe whatever, but to bring ſeven or eight penſioned members to vote in every queſtion that came before parliament. He was therefore clearly, conſcientiouſly, and firmly of opinion, that the board of Trade ought to be aboliſhed.—In regard to the influence of the crown, he was as much aſtoniſhed that any man ſhould have the effrontery to deny its increaſe, as that any man who hoped to retain a reputation of public or private integrity, could riſe in ſupport of it. Influence had grown upon the weakneſs of our country; and perhaps our conſtitution had more to fear from its pernicious progreſs, than the foil of our country had to fear from the utmoſt efforts of our united enemies. He himſelf held it his firſt and principal duty to oppoſe the influence of corruption; as long as he was in the chair he would ardently wiſh for the decreaſe of the influence of the crown; and if he left the chair, his moſt zealous efforts ſhould for ever be employed in eſtabliſhing and cementing the independence of parliament.

The Attorney-General oppoſed the abolition; becauſe a council of trade would be incompetent, precarious, and uncertain.—And he objected to interfering with the King's revenue at all; becauſe that would render the King dependent on his miniſters, and deſtroy the monarchy of the empire.

Mr Dunning replied, and cloſed the debate.

On a diviſion, the abolition carried by eight votes: Ayes 207, Noes 199.

[*To be continued.*]

An Arithmetical Toaſt.

Addition	—	to the Proteſters.
Subtraction	—	to the Petitioners.
Multiplication		to the King's Friends.
Diviſion	— —	to his Enemies.
Reduction	—	to the Colonies.
Rule of Three		to his Majeſty.
Practice	— —	to his Officers.

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AMERICA. [146.]

Extract of a private letter from New York, dated, March 25. 1780.

——The affairs of the rebels have never been in ſo bad a ſtate as they are in at preſent; and moſt anxious have I been that adminiſtration might know this, to prevent any accommodation with the congreſs that would reflect diſhonour on government, and be injurious to both countries.

Thoſe events which have been clearly foreſeen by all prudent men, are now actually coming to paſs. The coloniſts are become more and more diſcontented, and tired of the war. The congreſs money is ſunk almoſt to nothing; enormous taxes are impoſed to raiſe its credit; theſe taxes increaſe the people's diſtreſs and diſcontent; and yet the money ſtill ſinks in value. Laſt year, the congreſs demanded ſixty millions of dollars from their ſubjects. But this was a trifle: in the beginning of the winter, they paſſed a reſolve, that the ſum of fifteen millions of dollars ſhould be levied every month for nine months, the whole amounting to 135 millions of dollars, to be paid in from Feb. 1. to Oct. 1. both inclusive, this preſent year. The monthly quota of Pennſylvania is one million five hundred thouſand dollars. The depreciation of their money ruined thouſands of thoſe called monied men; theſe taxes will equally ruin land-holders. Four years rent of a farm, in many places, will not pay this year's tax; for the taxes are laid, not according to their annual rent or income, but their ſuppoſed intrinſic value.

Yet ſtill the money ſinks in value. Even the congreſs officers in Jerſey refuſe to receive it in payment. The aſſembly of Connecticut have paſſed a law, forbidding it to be a legal tender. The aſſembly of Maryland have declared their inability to pay their monthly tax; and many individuals, who are warm rebels, in every province, refuſe to pay it, partly through inability, aad partly through a conſciouſneſs of its ruinous tendency.

Waſhington is now at Morris-town; and, from the beſt and lateſt accounts, his army conſiſts of 4800 effective men. This number will be reduced before May: and it can only be recruited by draughted men from the militia; for not a ſoul will inliſt voluntarily in the Continental army. This need not be wondered at, conſidering the ſtate of their money. The rebel army ſuffered prodigiouſly for want of bread, the laſt winter, owing partly to the ſeverity of the weather. Their ſpirits were buoyed up with the hopes of a French fleet and army, which were to ſweep all before them: but the defeat at Savannah diſſipated all theſe fond hopes; and the arrival of our army there has filled them with the utmoſt deſpondency. Such is the general ſtate of their affairs.

In particular provinces, diſtraction, confuſion, diſcontent, and party-ſpirit reign, even among the rebels. An act was lately paſſed by the aſſembly of Pennſylvania, ordering 40,000 barrels of flour, 200,000 buſhels of Indian corn, and many other articles in proportion, to be collected immediately in that province, for the uſe of the army; and commiſſioners are appointed in each county to collect them; who are veſted with abſolute power to ſeize them, as well as horſes, waggons, &c. if not voluntarily brought in; and all is to be paid for in continental money. This will have a fine effect on a people already diſcontented, and ripe for a revolt: in truth, I expect a violent convulſion there this ſummer. In former times Pennſylvania could eaſily furniſh that quantity of flour and grain; but, at preſent, I believe it would be impoſſible to collect that quantity, were the inhabitants ever ſo willing.

In that province, where the rebels had ſo many magazines of proviſions formerly, they have not one at preſent, except at Fort Pitt: there is the principal magazine that they now have on the continent.

P. S. I beſeech you to remonſtrate loudly againſt any treaty with the congreſs. Diſgrace and ruin would be the ſure conſequence of it. Every friend to government on the continent would be mortified by it to the laſt degree, every rebel would be elated, and the intereſt of government be eſſentially injured. The congreſs do not repreſent the fiftieth part of the inhabitants. If a treaty muſt be held, it ſhould be with thoſe who are choſen freely by the people, when all reſtraint is taken off, and they can act according to the dictates of their judgement and inclination. This ſhould be ready, and offered as ſoon as the colonies, or two or three of them, are reduced, and wreſted from congreſſional terror and tyranny.

" N.W

"*New York, March* 27. On Thurſday the commiſſion of Gen. Robertſon was opened in the preſence of Gen. Tryon, and the gentlemen of his Majeſty's council; when his Excellency took the oaths of qualification, and was inducted into the office of Governor of the province of New York. The General's commiſſion was afterwards read at the City-hall, and his Excellency there publicly proclaimed our Governor."

From the London Gazette, April 29.

Extracts of letters to Lord George Germain, by the Swift packet, Capt. Nichols, from New York.

From Sir H. Clinton, dated Head-quarters, James iſland, S. Carolina, March 9.

My laſt diſpatch, N° 83. will have informed your Lordſhip, that the Admiral and I only waited poſitive information concerning Count d'Eſtaing's fleet to put to ſea. Intelligence of their having quitted the coaſt arrived late in December; and the troops having been ſome time embarked, the Admiral was enabled to ſail the 26th.

I will trouble your Lordſhip with no other particulars of a very tedious voyage in uncommon bad weather, than to mention, that in our loſſes of tranſports the lives of the crews have been ſaved; that only one ſhip is miſſing, having on board a detachment of Heſſians, and ſuppoſed to have bore away for the Weſt Indies [160.]; but that we have to regret the total loſs of an ordnance-ſhip, which foundered at ſea, and of much the greater part of the horſes brought for cavalry or other public uſes.

It was judged beſt to proceed by a ſecond navigation from Tybee to North Ediſto, and from thence to paſs to John's, and next to James iſland. By a bridge over Wappoo cut we have from this laſt gained the banks of Aſhley river.

My intention is to paſs to the Neck of Charleſtown as ſoon as poſſible. The enemy, I find, have collected their whole force to that place. This is ſaid not to exceed 5000 men at preſent; but reinforcements are daily expected.

In the mean time, as the rebels have made the defence of Charleſtown their principal object, I have determined on my part to aſſemble in greater ſtrength before it; and, with this view, have called immediately to this army a corps I had left in Georgia. They will paſs the Savannah river, and join me by land.

The force afloat at Charleſtown is four rebel and one French frigate, with an old ſixty-gun ſhip, and ſome brigs and gallies.

Although our long voyage, and unavoidable delays ſince, have given the rebels time to fortify Charleſtown towards the land, a labour their numbers in negroes has greatly facilitated; yet, confiding in the merit of the troops I have the honour to command, in the great aſſiſtance I have from Earl Cornwallis, and the further co-operation of the navy, I entertain great hopes of ſucceſs.

I cannot cloſe my letter without expreſſing how much I am obliged hitherto to Adm. Arbuthnot for the aſſiſtance given me through Capt. Elphinſtone, who as yet has been chiefly employed in the naval tranſactions immediately relative to the army. This gentleman's unremitted attention to us, from his ſo ably and ſucceſsfully conducting the tranſports into North Ediſto to this hour, with the great benefit I have derived from his knowledge of the inland navigation of this part of the coaſt, merit my warmeſt thanks.

P. S. Since the above, a reinforcement is arrived in Charleſtown, ſaid to conſiſt of 2000 men from the northern army.

From Lt-Gen. Knyphauſen, dated, New York, March 27. [*Tranſlation.*]

——Since Gen. Clinton's departure from hence on the 26th of December laſt, we have had the longeſt and moſt ſevere winter that was ever remembered. All was continent; and horſes with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerſeys from one iſland to another; and it is only ſince the 20th of February that the rivers and ſtraits have been navigable.

The rebels thought to avail themſelves of this eaſy communication, and threatened an attack upon Staten iſland, where there were about 1800 men under the command of Brig.-Gen. Sterling, who were pretty well intrenched. For this purpoſe Gen. Waſhington, whoſe army was hutted at Morris-town, ſent a detachment of 2700 men, with ſix pieces of cannon, two mortars, and ſome horſe, commanded by Lord Sterling; who arrived on the iſland early in the morning of the 15th of January, our advanced poſts having retired upon their approach. They formed the line; and having made ſome movements in the courſe of that

day, withdrew in the night, after having burnt one houſe, pillaged ſome others, and carried off with them about 200 head of cattle. The day of their arrival on the iſland I embarked 600 men to attempt a paſſage, and ſupport Gen. Sterling; but the floating ice prevented their ſucceſs, and obliged them to return. I imagine that the appearance of theſe tranſports, with troops on board, which they could ſee towards the cloſe of the day, induced them to make this ſudden retreat, as they could not tell what ſucceſs they might have. Some priſoners were made in their retreat.

Some days after, an advanced poſt, which they had at Newark, conſiſting of one company, was ſurpriſed and taken by a detachment from hence and from Paulus Hook, under the command of Major Lum; and the ſame day Gen. Sterling ſent another detachment under Lt-Col. Boſkirk, who ſurpriſed the piquet-guard at Eliſabeth-town, and made 2 majors, 2 captains, and 47 men, priſoners of war. Both theſe enterpriſes were effected without any loſs on our ſide. Some time after, Gen. Mathew ſent a detachment of guards and provincial horſe, under the command of Lt-Col. Northon, to attack a poſt at John's houſe upon the White Plains. This did not ſucceed entirely to his wiſhes: but the rebels, who were poſted in a houſe, were however attacked, and diſlodged, with the loſs of 40 men killed, and 97 made priſoners; among whom were 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, and 5 inferior officers. We had 3 killed and 15 wounded.

In the night of the 22d of this month we partly ſurpriſed and took a rebel poſt in the Jerſeys, conſiſting of 250 men, of whom we made only 65 priſoners, owing to two embarkations, one from hence under Lt-Col. Macpherſon, and another from Kingſbridge under Lt-Col. Howard, not arriving at the appointed time. Our loſs upon this occaſion was very inconſiderable. Capt. Armſtrong of the 42d regiment is wounded. By theſe little enterpriſes during the winter, as far as we can aſcertain, we have made 320 priſoners, and killed about 65 of the enemy.

By the beſt intelligence I have been able to get, Gen. Waſhington's army at Morris-town conſiſts of about 5000 men, beſides militia. There has been a great deſertion among them. Tired of the war, and diſſatisfied with the depreciated value of their money, a general diſcontent pervades the whole army.

From Maj.-Gen. Pattiſon, dated, New York, Feb. 22.

The intenſe froſt, accompanied with great falls of ſnow, which began here about the middle of December, ſhut up the navigation of this port from the ſea, within a few days after Adm. Arbuthnot's fleet, with the troops, under the commander in chief, had taken its departure from Sandy Hook. The ſeverity of the weather increaſed to that degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with this city by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. We could ſcarcely be ſaid to be in an inſular ſtate. The paſſage of the North river, even in the wideſt part from hence to Paulus Hook (2000 yards), was about the 19th practicable for the heavieſt cannon; an event unknown in the memory of man: and, very ſoon after, proviſions were tranſported upon ſleighs, and detachments of cavalry marched from New York to Staten iſland (eleven miles) upon the ice. The Eaſt river to Brooklyn on Long iſland was alſo, for many days, blocked up.

Thus circumſtanced, this city was laid open on many ſides to an attack from an enterpriſing enemy; and notwithſtanding the unſucceſsful attempt they made upon Staten iſland on the 14th of January, it was nevertheleſs ſtrongly reported, that Gen. Waſhington was meditating a great ſtroke upon New York, with his whole force, by different attacks; and although the undertaking would perhaps have been too daring and unwarrantable, yet the repeated intelligence we received of the many preparations they were making for that purpoſe, forbid the abſolute diſbelief of ſuch a plan's being under contemplation: Therefore, having received in November laſt an addreſs, ſigned by the principal inhabitants, in behalf of themſelves and fellow-citizens, to put themſelves in military array, I thought it a favourable occaſion of putting the ſincerity of their profeſſions to the teſt, and of adding in the preſent inſtance to the ſecurity of the city and garriſon, which the commander in chief was pleaſed to honour me with the care and command of, as well as eſtabliſhing in future ſuch an internal de-

fences,

fence, as to make a garriſon of leſs ſtrength ſufficient in general for its protection. I conſulted with Gen. Tryon upon the expediency of this meaſure; and as he entirely concurred in my opinion, I did not heſitate (having taken the ſenſe too of ſome of the principal citizens) to iſſue a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants, from the age of ſeventeen to ſixty, to embody and take arms. The chearfulneſs and alacrity with which it was univerſally complied, exceeded all expectation; and, in the ſpace of ſeven days after the proclamation, we had the pleaſure to ſee forty companies, from the ſix wards of the city, enrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2660, many of the moſt reſpectable citizens ſerving in the ranks of each company. Above 900 purchaſed arms at their own expence; and the whole were deſirous of doing the ſame, if there had been a ſufficient number of firelocks in town for ſale; but that not being the caſe, it was neceſſary to ſupply the deficiency from the King's ſtores. I ordered them however to be iſſued only as a loan, and upon condition of each captain's becoming reſponſible, under his hand, to the ſtorekeeper, for returning to him, when called upon, the number he received, or to pay thirty-ſix ſhillings for each ſtand of arms, if required. The officers appointed to theſe companies are all perſons of known well-affected principles.

The laudable ſpirit and ardour being happily raiſed, quickly diffuſed itſelf amongſt all orders of men. The ſeveral public departments vied with each other who ſhould be moſt forward in offering me their ſervices as volunteers. I readily accepted their offers, and formed them into companies accordingly. The old volunteer companies likewiſe augmented their numbers, and in a very few days I reviewed them all together under arms, moſt of them cloathed in uniform at their own expence. Gen. Knyphauſen, Gen. Tryon, and all the general officers, were preſent, and expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at ſo reſpectable a body of men. The return which I have the honour to incloſe, will ſhew your Lordſhip the number of theſe new-aſſociated companies, with the effectives of each. I have beſides received a memorial from fifty gentlemen of the city, offering to form themſelves into a troop of cavalry, to mount, cloath, and arm themſelves at their own expence, and to ſerve, if called upon, either on York or Long iſland.

The very meritorious and diſtinguiſhed zeal which the officers of the royal navy have teſtified upon this ſingular occaſion, demands my moſt grateful acknowledgements. The ſeveral Capt[s] Edgar, Brenton, Oſborne, Ardeſoif, and Aplin, whoſe ſhips were faſt locked up, perſonally offered me their ſervices, to act with all their ſeamen on ſhore: and Capt. Howe of the Thames, as commanding the whole, ſignified to me officially by letter the deſire of all the officers to ſerve under my orders, as commandant, in any manner they could be moſt uſeful. Theſe handſome offers were moſt gratefully embraced, and a circular redoubt near the Eaſt river, with eight twelve-pounders, and one nine-pounder, was made over to their charge; and, as a compliment due, it was immediately called the *Royal-Navy redoubt*. The number of ſeamen, about 350, were divided into ten companies, each commanded by a lieutenant of a man of war. Two of them have mounted daily in this redoubt, and were to be reinforced by five more in caſe of an alarm. The other three companies were then to repair to a poſt, the moſt ſuitable for them, upon a height covering the king's dock-yard; which was alſo to be defended by the company formed from the artificers of the yard, under the command of the naval ſtorekeeper, as captain.

The ſailors belonging to the victuallers, tranſports, ſmall craft, and private trade, armed with pikes, and under the direction of Capt. Laird, the agent, were deſtined to guard and protect the whole chain of wharfs and ſhipping, from the ſhip-yard to the lower battery at the other extremity of the town.

The ſeveral captains of militia, deſirous of making it permanent, and as uſeful as poſſible, have readily agreed to, and ſubſcribed many regulations for the good government of it, for fining delinquents, abſentees from any parade, or from their tour of duty on the city-watch, for keeping in repair and in good condition their arms and ammunition, &c. They are likewiſe out every Saturday, and the volunteer-companies every Sunday, in order to be trained and inſtructed in the uſe of arms. I have appointed Mr Amiel, who ſerved for twelve years as an officer in the 60th regiment, to act as major of

brigade to this corps of militia, with an aſſiſtant under him; both of whom are to be paid out of the city funds.

The rigour of the froſt is now happily abated, and we are flattered with the proſpect of a complete thaw; ſo that all ideas of an attack are now at an end. Indeed it was much to have been wiſhed they had made one, as we were ſo well prepared to repel it to their coſt. We already learn, that the recent diſplay of loyalty here, with the great acquiſition of force it produced, has had its effects upon the friends of government without the lines, as well as upon the enemy, who have been apprehenſive of an attack being intended upon their main force at Morris-town. It has probably too contributed to the great deſertion which has lately prevailed amongſt their troops in the Jerſies, upwards of 160 having come over within theſe few weeks, and enliſted here with the recruiting parties of our provincial corps.

Preſent ſtrength of the Armed Force in New York, exclusive of the King's troops of the garriſon, the 19th of February 1780.

OLD COMPANIES.

New-York Rangers (cloathed) 1 company. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 non-commiſſioned officers, 100 privates. Total 107.

New-York Highlanders (cloathed) 1 company. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 non-commiſſioned officers, 100 privates. Total 107.

New-York Volunteers (cloathed) 7 companies. 7 captains, 15 lieutenants, 28 non-commiſſioned officers, 405 privates. Total 455.

NEW ASSOCIATED COMPANIES.

New-York Marine Artillery (cloathed) 1 company. 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 non-commiſſioned officer, 95 privates. Total 98.

Commiſſariot Loyal Volunteers (cloathed) 2 companies. 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 6 non-commiſſioned officers, 195 privates. Total 207.

Ordnance Volunteers, Artificers (cloathed) 1 company. 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 4 non-commiſſioned officers, 63 privates. Total 71.

Ordnance Volunteers, Seamen, 3 companies. 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 8 non-commiſſioned officers, 149 privates. Total 166.

Engineer Volunteers (cloathed) 1 company. 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, 9 non-commiſſioned officers, 118 privates. Total 134.

Quartermaſter-General's Volunteers, 1 company. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 non-commiſſioned officers, 50 privates. Total 56.

Barrackmaſter-General's Volunteers, 1 company. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 non-commiſſioned officers, 84 privates. Total 91.

King's Dock-Yard Volunteers, 3 companies. 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 6 non-commiſſioned officers, 148 privates. Total 161.

City-militia, 40 companies. 40 captains, 80 lieutenants, 160 non-commiſſioned officers, 2382 privates. Total 2662.

Total of companies embodied 62.

Royal Navy, acting on ſhore. 5 captains, 10 lieutenants, 340 privates. Total 355.

Seamen from the tranſports, navy-victuallers, ſmall craft, New-York pilots, and private ſhips, armed with pikes. 5 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1119 privates. Total 1129.

Total Captains	- -	72
—— Lieutenants	- -	139
—— Non-commiſſioned Officers	-	237
—— Privates	- -	5348
	Total	5796

N. B. A troop of 60 light cavalry, formed from the artillery horſe department, to act as occaſion may require, are armed with ſabres and piſtols, and cloathed at their own expence, commanded by Capt. Scott. New-York marine artillery, formed from the marine ſociety eſtabliſhed by Royal charter.

JA. PATTISON, M. G.

From Capt. Drake, of the Ruſſel, to the Admiralty, dated, New York, March 29.

—— I left Vice-Adm. Arbuthnot, off Charleſtown bar, the 8th inſtant, his flag on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Roebuck. He had in company the Renown, Romulus, Blonde, Perſeus, Camilla, and Raleigh, all prepared to paſs the bar that morning, had not a fog prevented it. The Richmond arrived two days before, off Tybee, with a convoy. The tranſports were moving from North Ediſto, where they landed the troops, to Stono: when I left it the troops were on James's iſland. — The rebel frigates within the bar were placed, viz. the Bricole, Providence, Boſton, Ranger, with two galleys, off Sullivan's iſland. Four others, and three galleys, off the town. I arrived here, with his Majeſty's ſhip under my command, the 21ſt inſtant, being directed by the Vice-Admiral to take on me the command of this port.

NEW

NEW BOOKS. [150.]

A letter to Robert Macqueen, Lord Braxfield [39.56.], *on his promotion to be one of the judges of the high court of Juſticiary* [111.]. 1*s*. Bookſellers, Edinburgh.

EXTRACTS.

The preamble of thoſe ſtatutory proviſions by which the court of Juſticiary was in the year 1672, eſtabliſhed in its preſent form, ſhould ever be kept in mind:—"Seeing cauſes criminal are of the greateſt importance, and may extend to the lives and liberties of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and their perſons and fortunes: And ſeeing the puniſhment of crimes is of the greateſt conſequence for the ſafety and ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and authority, and the peace and quietneſs of the kingdom; and therefore matters criminal ought to be determined in the moſt ſolemn, exact, and regular way."

Solemnity in the adminiſtration of judicial proceedings concerning life and death, is indeed the moſt eſſential requiſite, and ſhould be religiouſly maintained. In Pagan juriſprudence, lawyers are called "*Antiſtites juſtitiæ*, Prieſts of juſtice;" and in the ſacred volume of Revelation, the magiſtrate or judge who beareth the ſword, is held out to us as the "*Miniſter of God.*"

—The conduct of a criminal trial in Scotland is not always juſt what we could with to ſee. The very word *trial*, implies an inquiry into the truth or falſehood of an accuſation. In England, the audience are really ſenſible that an inquiry is making. The priſoner who pleads Not guilty, is officially hailed with "God ſend you a good deliverance;" and the judges take the evidence with an even unprejudiced candour, which is wonderfully fair. But, my Lord, have you never obſerved, that a criminal trial in Scotland appeared, on the part of the judges, not ſo much an inquiry, whether the priſoner was guilty, as an anxious ſtudy that one already known to be guilty ſhould not eſcape? Has your Lordſhip never remarked in the juſticiary-court, that when witneſſes were ſwearing *againſt* the priſoner, their teſtimony was received by the bench with full credibility; but that when ſwearing *for* him, diſtruſt and ſuſpicion were evidently expreſſed? Yet in England there is much better ground for prepoſſeſſion againſt a priſoner ſtanding trial; becauſe he has already had an indictment found againſt him by a grand jury of his countrymen: whereas, in Scotland, a priſoner is brought to trial upon the ſole opinion of the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor-General, or more frequently the opinion of one of the gentlemen to whom the Lord Advocate's official power in this reſpect is delegated.

The difference between criminal proceedings in England and Scotland, is partly owing to there being a better *ſpirit of office*, more propriety of behaviour, and a more civilized mildneſs of manners on the ſouth of the Tweed than on the north; but may perhaps be chiefly aſcribed to the cuſtom of priſoners being allowed counſel in Scotland during the whole courſe of the trial. Theſe counſel, ambitious of being *miſeris præſidium reis*, are generally underſtood to take the part of their wretched clients with ſuch warmth and eagerneſs, and ſo much more is thought to be allowable in thoſe who are ſaving a man's life than in thoſe who are taking it away, that the judges have ſuppoſed ſome of their weight was neceſſary for the other ſide of the bar, to keep the balance as it ſhould be. But by leaning one way continually, do they not lean too much? Is there not too great a contraſt between their behaviour and that of the Engliſh judges, who act as counſel for the priſoner? Is it becoming to ſee whiſpers going on between any of our judges and the counſel for the crown? or perhaps a crown-agent? Is it right that a witneſs's evidence in a precognition, which has probably been uttered careleſsly, and taken down inaccurately, ſhould be lying before a judge while he is examining that witneſs under the moſt awful recollection? Is it quite fair, that when the witneſs ſwears differently from the precognition, and in favour of the priſoner, ſuch looks and ſhrugs ſhould paſs, as cannot but indicate to the jury, that he is not ſwearing as he ſhould do? If ſuch circumſtances ever happen, would it not be better that they were avoided? Cannot the Judges correct the keenneſs of a priſoner's counſel with moderation, and without being counſel againſt him? And may not their keenneſs be increaſed by the oppoſite inclination of the judges? for that naturally enough produces a competition between the bench and the bar, which is not decent. If, after ſuch a competition, a priſoner eſcapes, is it agreeable that there ſhould appear to be a triumph over the diſappointed bench?

If

If he is condemned to die, is it not to be feared, that "inſtances of chaſtiſing criminals would readily be miſapprehended for ſo many acts of violence and oppreſſion, the effects of malice even in judges?" *Hiſt. Law-tracts, vol. 1. p. 5.*

The maxim, That "it is better ten guilty perſons eſcape, than one innocent perſon ſuffer *," ſhould be hung up in a conſpicuous place in all our criminal courts, and be ever preſent to the mind of a criminal judge, whoſe influence, even when he does not intend it, operates ſo much on the jury. But is there not, my Lord, too often an intention diſcovered by the bench, to direct and controul the jury?

While points of law or of form are agitated in the courſe of a trial, it is the part of the judges to give full light and inſtruction to the jury. But ought the judges to diſcover to the jury the opinion which they have formed as to the fact? And after the jury have returned a verdict upon their great oath, have the judges any right to cenſure that verdict, becauſe the jury have not entertained the ſame notions of the nature of evidence in general, or of the evidence upon that trial in particular, that the judges have done? Sometimes a jury are addreſſed with a complimental approbation of their verdict by the judges. A ſenſible and ſpirited jury will not reliſh ſuch praiſe: *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.*——If a jury ſhall bow and ſubmit to be praiſed for not perjuring themſelves in one caſe where they happen to agree with the judges, they muſt expect to crouch under cenſure in another caſe where they happen to differ. All encroachments of one department of adminiſtration upon another, whether in the ſtate or in courts of judicature, ſhould be ſteadily reſiſted. If juries ſhew that reſolution which free and independent men, ſerving their country without reward, are well entitled to do, and ſhall with decent firmneſs oppoſe any reprehenſion, they may be aſſured, that the judges will forbear to treat them in a manner that is degrading.

——There is a moſt ſerious circumſtance to which your Lordſhip's attention is earneſtly demanded; and that is, a practice which has ſometimes prevailed of *ſharing* the duty, ſo that the judges can contrive that none of them ſhall go a full circuit; but one ſhall ſit at one town only, and another only at two; by which means the country is deprived of that adminiſtration of juſtice which has been thought neceſſary, and for which proviſion is made by the public.

To oblige both the judges on each circuit to be preſent during the whole of it, when there is no buſineſs to be done, would be unneceſſary ſtrictneſs. But when there is buſineſs, be it civil or be it criminal, how can a judge anſwer to his conſcience for not attending?

The act 20° Geo. II. took this ſubject under conſideration: "And whereas a doubt hath been entertained, whether it be lawful or competent for one judge to proceed to do buſineſs in the circuit-courts when his colleague *happens* to be *neceſſarily* abſent;"—it is enacted,—"That it ſhall and may be lawful for any one of the judges in ſuch circuit-courts to diſpatch buſineſs, whenever it ſhall *happen* that his colleague ſhall, *through indiſpoſition*, or other *neceſſary avocation*, be abſent."

Will this clauſe of indulgence, framed for the caſe of poſſible *accidents*, in order that buſineſs may be diſpatched, afford a juſtification of frequent deliberate intentional abſence from buſineſs, without the excuſe of indiſpoſition, or any neceſſary avocation whatever? A juryman who ſerves his country *gratis*, will be fined if he does not ſend a certificate by a phyſician or ſurgeon, "*upon ſoul and conſcience*," that he is unable to attend; and ſhall a judge, who receives a ſalary, be abſent from his duty, without ſo much as offering even the form of an excuſe?

His Majeſty's ſubjects are by law intitled to have the opinion of two judges upon the circuit, in queſtions concerning their lives, liberties, or properties, unleſs when one of the judges has it not in his power to attend, either by reaſon of indiſpoſition, or of ſuch an avocation as can be *bona fide* pronounced to be *neceſſary*.

Depend upon it, my Lord, there is more riſk here than is perhaps apprehended. If the objection of the *illegal abſence* of one of the judges ſhall be moved at a circuit-court, and a trial proceed, upon which condemnation enſues, the ſentence will be reſcinded *per modum juſticiæ*, and the matter be brought under

* [In the remarkable trial of James Stewart at Inveraray, in 1752, the jury were twice [15. 495, 515.] put in mind of this maxim, by Mr Grant, then Lord Advocate, in ſumming up the evidence, firſt before entering on the proof, and again in the penult paragraph of his ſpeech.]

a cogniſance, the reſult of which may be extremely diſagreeable.

It would be invidious, and not in the ſpirit of this well-meant addreſs, to mention particular inſtances, which, if required, may be done. It is enough to ſay in general terms, that ſome things have happened at circuit-courts, where one judge only was preſent, which could not have happened had there been two; and that if theſe things had not been remedied by ſuperior power, the ſtate of men in this country would have been lamentable.

Not only is it requiſite, that both the judges ſhall attend at each town upon the circuit, where there is buſineſs, but that they ſhall both attend the court; for to *ſhare a trial*, at leaſt without being in concert with regard to it, may have a woful effect. One actual example ſhall be given. Some years ago a man was tried at a circuit-court at Glaſgow, for ſtealing ſheaves of corn from a field in a harveſt-night. Both the judges were in the town; but one only attended the court in the forenoon. The proof was taken, and that judge gave a charge to the jury, expatiating on the heinouſneſs of the crime of robbing the induſtrious huſbandman in the ſeaſon of reſt. In the afternoon, *that* judge had ſome avocation, and the other came to court, and received the verdict of the jury, which was *Guilty*.—*This* judge viewed the criminal as if he had been one of the gleaners in Thomſon's Seaſons; treated the fact as a trivial offence, and expreſſed ſurpriſe, that the public proſecutor ſhould have brought it before the court. The Advocate-depute, in his own vindication, was obliged to take notice in open court, that he was ſorry to find his Lordſhip diſapprove of the trial; but that his Lordſhip's brother had expreſſed himſelf very differently. What muſt have been the feelings of the jury, and of the audience, upon that occaſion?

Letter to the people of Laurencekirk. [33.]

Extracts continued. [150.]

Saving.] It is a ſimple but important advice, and practicable by every one of you, to make ſure of ſome annual ſaving; and the progreſs of this good management will bring opulence in various degrees to all. The wiſe Lord Bacon ſays, "It is very hard to gain a little, but it is very eaſy to gain a great deal." The ſtruggle of induſtry is at the beginning; its perſeverance gains a certain triumph.

Aid to Induſtry promiſed.] I have certain grounds to know and believe, that thoſe among you who have will to work in their ſeveral vocations, do not want employment and encouragement; I may, therefore, with reaſon conclude, that thoſe who do not thrive, are deficient in ſobriety or induſtry: and I now make this ſolemn declaration, that during my life, and by every means in my power, I ſhall be ready to aid the induſtrious: but I abjure all compaſſion or concern for the idle and thriftleſs.—There are certain viſible marks by which I can diſtinguiſh the induſtrious thriving man, and which I ſhall now very ſhortly mention, that you may know and advert to my intention of making diſtinctions accordingly, when at different times I come to make a viſit in the village.—1. The induſtrious man will moſt certainly be an early riſer.—2. I will obſerve if there is any conformity among you to the good leſſons which I have ſuggeſted from the practice of other induſtrious countries, particularly in ſome proper evening-occupation, by way of amuſement, and in the chearful ſociety of neighbours.—3. I will mark any improvement in the neatneſs of your houſes, the melioration of your lands, or the cleanneſs of your cloathing.—4. I will very ſpecially inquire of thoſe who are punctual in maintaining their credit, and who manage their affairs with ſuch prudence and foreſight as to avoid the diſgrace of duns and legal diligence.—5. I will inquire, and be well informed, as well as make my own obſervations, of thoſe who, on your new fair and market days, are attentive to the occaſions of trade and buſineſs, for which they were intended, or of thoſe who pervert the purpoſe and uſe of them to idleneſs, ſtrolling, or tippling.—6. I will make particular obſervation, if your cloathing, and the furniture of your houſes, are produced by domeſtic induſtry, or at leaſt manufactured by ſome inhabitant of the village. This œconomy is both laudable and profitable to an induſtrious village, and ought at leaſt to be obſerved until they attain to ſome extent of foreign commerce, when exchange of commodities may become a branch of trade and induſtry.—7. I have a fixed maxim, That every man who has talents and fitneſs for his employment in life, will delight

light in the purſuits and profits of it, more than in any other occupation, or in any diverſion. I will try you by this maxim; and if I obſerve that any of you are addicted to ſuch avocations, I will conclude that he has been miſtaken in the choice of his employment, that he is unfit for it, cannot thrive, and is unworthy of encouragement.—8. I will ſpecially obſerve if there is any proper reformation in the care and management of the education of your children, if they are reſcued from the miſeries and habits of idleneſs by proper and early occupation.—Laſtly, I am now very experimentally convinced of my own error, in beſtowing credit or money (with too liberal a hand) to ſupport new projects, before I had ſufficient and certain knowledge of ability and good conduct in the undertakers. Grown wiſer by experience, very inſtructive, though ſomewhat coſtly, it ſhall hereafter be a fixed rule, That I am to conſer the aids I can afford, only on men of eſtabliſhed induſtry and reputation, who can ſhow, by exact and regularly-kept books, that they are not only diligent, but thriving, and want ſome aſſiſtance in money or credit to advance or enlarge their undertakings.

Religion.] I am no profeſſor of zeal, but I entertain a moſt hearty reverence for the Chriſtian faith, and am convinced, that without religious principles there can be no complete and true happineſs either here or hereafter. If I knew any better leſſons of wiſdom, virtue, and happineſs, than thoſe which we find, and I have partly recited, from the Bible, I ſhould point them out for your inſtruction; but in all the courſe of my reading and ſtudy, I can diſcover none to be compared with them. In the moſt ſimple, and at the ſame time the ſubliméſt ſtyle, the Proverbs of Solomon contain a perfect ſyſtem of moral knowledge, human and divine. Study them, and you need not regret that you are unlearned men. Put in practice their precepts, and you will have no cauſe to repine that you have not been born to fortunes, or are not poſſeſſed of ſuperfluities. The diſtinctions of ſects and parties are truly immaterial. In the important and eſſential points, Chriſtians, without diſtinction, are agreed; and the ſenſe of free and reformed countries has at length diſcovered, that men may differ in points of controverſy, without the leaſt diſturbance to public peace or private intercourſe, friendſhip and harmony in ſociety.—There is only one religious tenet, too prevailing among us, which I cannot forbear to cenſure; I mean, the notion of being ſaved merely by faith, and a certain ſet of abſtract opinions, without regard to morals or good works. I ſay, I cannot forbear my cenſure of it, becauſe I think it is founded on conceited ignorance and abſurdity, which cannot be conſiſtent with true religion, and is nothing better than enthuſiaſm.—There are ſix admirable lines in Hudibras which refute and expoſe this notion better than twenty diſſertations, and therefore you ſhall have them:

Morality, which both the ſaint
And wicked too cry out againſt,
'Cauſe Grace and Virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin;
And therefore no true ſaint allows
They ſhall be ſuffer'd to eſpouſe:
For Virtue's impious if it's rooted
In Nature only, and not imputed.

LONDON.

Sermons. By Hugh Blair, D. D. Vol. 2. [39. 42, 197.]. 8vo. 6s. bound. *Strahan and Cadell, London; Creech, Edinburgh.*—This volume conſiſts likewiſe of fifteen ſermons: 1. On the importance of order in conduct; 2. 3. On the government of the heart; 4. On the unchangeableneſs of the Divine nature; 5. On the compaſſion of Chriſt; 6. On the love of praiſe; 7. On the proper eſtimate of human life; 8. On death; 9. On the happineſs of a future ſtate; 10. On candour; 11. On the character of Joſeph; 12. On the character of Hazael; 13. On the benefits to be derived from the houſe of mourning; 14. On the divine government of the paſſions of men; 15. On the importance of religious knowledge to mankind——Thoſe who have read the firſt volume of Dr Blair's diſcourſes (and we believe there are few readers of ſermons who have not peruſed them) will naturally form great expectations from his ſecond; and we may venture to aſſure them, that they will not be diſappointed. The ſame elegance of compoſition, the ſame beauty and variety of ſentiment, in a word, every excellence which marked the firſt, is conſpicuous in the ſecond volume; and cannot fail of rendering it highly acceptable to the friends of rational religion. M.

Hiſtory of the political connection between England and Ireland, from the reign of Henry II. to the preſent time. 4to. 7s. 6d. *Cadell.*——This author is happily exempted from the national prejudices of party-writers, and has illuſtrated his ſubject more fully than is done by any former writer, Engliſh or Iriſh. M.

On the Abuſe of RHETORIC.

ONE ſees with pain the oratorial powers,
For Truth's fair fruit, produce but leaves and flowers;
Miſlead the judgement, counteract the laws,
And make the worſe appear the better cauſe;
The orphan's dread, the friendleſs ſtranger's bane,
Where judges nod, and juries ſwear in vain.
Replete with ſcience, and elate with pride,
Mercutio pleads the cauſe of either ſide;
To truth and falſehood equally inclin'd,
Mammon the ſole dictator in his mind;
Bold to affirm, unbluſhing to deny,
The needful aid of ſubterfuges nigh.
If Juſtice looks aſkance, in copious flow
He pours the wordy torrent on the foe;
Statutes and rules of court can twiſt with eaſe,
His comments always ſuited to his pleas.
Now ſtern, as Brutus, he demands the laws,
Then ſhifts and winds, to ſave a rotten cauſe:
To-day Vulturnus ſmarts beneath his rod,
And mercy is the attribute of God;
To-morrow, Aſper, juſt as void of grace,
Nor leſs the tyrant of the human race,
Is gently waſh'd from every moral ſtain,
While weeping orphans Heav'n obteſt in vain.
If ſqueamiſh Virtue turns her face aſide,
The glowing guineas the reproach muſt hide.
Let judges guard the honour of the laws,
Mercutio only pleads his client's cauſe. [ther,
Pleads he a cauſe that's juſt?—to make a po-
Might tire the bench, and vex his righteous brother;
To-day let him in parts unrival'd ſhine,
The weaker ſide to-morrow may be thine.
Juſt, or unjuſt, the client ſaint or ſinner,
How ſweet is vict'ry, with a pig for dinner!
A truce with ſatire. ——Gently flow the line!
Come, all ye Muſes! help the wreath to twine;
Come, all ye Muſes! Virtue claims your praiſe;
To active Virtue ſacred be the lays!
Evander, born to plead the cauſe of Truth,
Was taught to prize her from his early youth;
A child, he dreaded the paternal eye
Which ne'er indulg'd the ſemblance of a lie.
Warm were his feelings, and his ſoul ſincere,
To ſuff'ring Virtue ne'er denied his ear:
His pride to plead the wretched widow's cauſe,
And wrench the orphan from the harpy's claws;
The dread of ev'ry dark deſigning knave,
For ſuch, he ever held it ſin to ſave.
In vain the mean oppreſſor's proffer'd gold,
Evander's conſcience was not to be ſold.
The friend of man, he bid the village [33] riſe,
Where mutual labour mutual want ſupplies;
Bid ſacred Freedom ſpread her genial wing,
To ſhield old age, and make the infant ſing;
Bid rights perpetual check his diſtant heirs,
His joy to plant, to cultivate be theirs;
Bid arts and manufactures lend their aid,
To rear the youth, and portion out the maid;
Bid youths and maids to Nature's law attend,
And on the kind affections graft the friend;
The friend to bear the equal load of life,
The dear companion, or the faithful wife.
He ſaw his cares with early ſucceſs crown'd,
And Health and Plenty ſcattering bleſſings round;
He ſaw with joy; and thus, "My children, live!
Secure of every aid that I can give.
Would you with credit live, reſpected die?
Check the mean thought that prompts you to a lie;
Be what you ſeem, be what your heart approves,
As ſerpents wiſe, but innocent as doves;
Be ſocial, chearful, gen'rous, and humane,
Prompt to relieve, and feel another's pain;
Be honeſt; and to me, with fearleſs eye,
Let every poor induſtrious man apply;
Such I eſteem. The idle and unjuſt,
'Tis weak to aid, and criminal to truſt."
He ſaid. Too much affected to reply,
The tear of joy ſwell'd grateful in their eye:
"O Sir!—our deeds, our future lives ſhall ſhow,
What we to Heav'n, and to your bounty owe."
Pleader! reſpect thyſelf; with rev'rence hear
The voice of conſcience vibrate on thine ear:
"Fees, fame, and vict'ry, are ignobly gain'd,
Where Juſtice mourns her ſacred rights profan'd."
Rhet'ric! to roam through fairy-fields be thine,
Where quirks ſtuck up like gems and meteors ſhine.
Truth loves the honeſt language of the heart;
Science may round it, but can ne'er impart.
Injuſtice, fraud, oppreſſion call it forth;
It ſcorns the knave, but aids the man of worth.
Alike ungrateful to a lib'ral ear,
Th' unletter'd ruſtic's tale, or haughty peer,
Where the vile cauſe would wit and parts diſgrace,
And even a Clodio bluſh to ſhew his face.

Abbot's Inch, 1780. F. D.

Three poems by Mr MACKENZIE. [181.]

1. *On York Cathedral.—Written in May* 1775; *the author twelve years of age.*

SEE yonder York's ſublime Cathedral riſe,
Behold its tow'ring ſpires aſcend the ſkies!
The lofty walls with ancient ſculpture graced,
The maſſy pillars at each entrance placed:
Heroes, Kings, Sages, mock the power of Death,
And in the living marble ſeem to breathe.
Lo! in the ſpacious courts, a pious train
Sing to their God an acceptable ſtrain;
E'en angels liſten to th' harmonious ſound,
And tread, unſeen to men, the hallowed ground:
The hymns they carry to that awful throne
Where the *Three Godheads ſit*, combin'd in One.

2. *A translation of the beginning of the third ode of the third book of Horace,*—Justum et tenacem, &c.

THE man whose mind is firm and just,
Who scorns to violate his trust,
Nor lawless citizens shall fright,
In angry factions who combine,
Nor shall a threat'ning tyrant's vengeful might
His stedfast purpose move, or shake his breast divine.

Stern Auster, ruler of the main,
The ocean shall embroil in vain;
Tho' Jove's terrific thunders roll,
And Nature's beauteous face deform;
Amidst the general wreck his dauntless soul
Could view without a tear the horrors of the storm.

'Twas thus the wand'ring Son of Jove
Attain'd th' aerial towers above;
'Twas thus, that in the azure sky
A seat to Leda's sons was given: [high,
With whom, the great Augustus, plac'd on
Shall mingle with the Gods, and share the feasts of heaven.

3. *The DREAM: An Elegy.—Written at sixteen years of age.*

To Mr I----s.

Nox erat, & terris animalia somnus habebat,
Effigies sacræ divum, Phrygiique penates,
Quos mecum a Troja, mediisque ex ignibus urbis
Extuleram, visi ante oculos astare jacentis
In somnis. VIRG.

WHile you, dear Sir, in Redhall's sweet retreat,
Enjoy the pleasures peace and wealth bestow,
And bid, with patriot care, around your seat,
The cherish'd arts of industry to grow;

Condemn'd to feel the power of Fortune's hate,
In vain I sigh the tedious hour away;
Mischance, alas! directs my wretched fate,
To grief and sorrow gives my mind a prey.

Ye happy days! that once were wont to rise,
And swiftly pass, with smiling pleasure crown'd,
Why must your dawn be witness to my sighs?
While Nature blooms, must I be drooping found!

No fierce ambition then had fill'd my soul,
No keen misfortune pierc'd my tender breast;
Nor stopp'd I then before I reach'd the goal,
By disappointment's tort'ring pangs distrest.

Alas! how fleeting every bliss of life!
How soon by care or sad affliction cross'd!
Man is but born, to lead his days in strife,
At last o'ercome to sink—for ever lost.—

——'Twas night; and silent darkness veil'd the sky,
No twinkling star bestow'd its feeble ray,
Soft sleep had clos'd to rest the wearied eye,
And grief alone in musing sadness lay.—

When, lo! appear'd before my bed confest,
The mournful image of my parted friend,
Silent he stood: at last these words address't,
These words that ne'er shall leave my anxious mind.

Yet, ah! unlike the friend that pleas'd before,
The gay companion of my former days;
No more his face its kind complacence wore,
No more we met with friendship's warm embrace.

His ghastly eyes had lost their wonted fire;
No youthful bloom his faded cheek display'd;
Wrapt in a mournful shroud, the grave's attire,
And all the dismal trappings of the dead.

"Nisbet," he said, and seiz'd my trembling hand,
"Why thus in youth to sorrow fall a prey?
Now these the dictates of your friend attend,
His last sad dictates do not disobey.

No more, alas! my well-known voice you'll hear,
Since doom'd in Death's cold mansions to remain—
Why cloud our meeting with that rising tear?
Forbear your sorrow; ah, my friend, 'tis vain.

Disease, you know, has crept my early prime,
In youthful age consign'd me to the tomb:
Relentless Powers! oh, what my fatal crime,
Thus snatch'd away in manhood's op'ning bloom?

Lost in the grave, my name at once shall die;
No future fame shall say MACKENZIE liv'd;
The letter'd stone its feeble art may try,
Soon of its fading marks by time bereav'd.

Ah! what avail'd, that on my op'ning mind
Beam'd all the knowledge which fair Science taught?
When once the fleeting spirit is resign'd,
Adieu for ever each far-reaching thought!

To you, my friend, I leave to speak my praise,
To tell what, fav'ring Fate, I might have been:
And oh! whene'er your lyre its song shall raise,
On a dead friend bestow one pitying strain.—

So may your Muse enjoy the sweets of fame,
By fortune favour'd, and with pleasure blest:
May future tongues record with praise your name,
While here, in dark oblivion, I shall rest!"

Ah! why, I cry'd, thus bid my Muse aspire,
By nature form'd for scenes of humble ease?
Tho' e'en my breast should feel ambition's fire,
How ill my lot with higher thoughts agrees!

Plac'd on a desert rock, where favour ne'er
With partial smile shall deign to look on me:
Ah! little born for Fortune's guardian care,
I meet, resign'd, whate'er my fates decree—

"A patron seek," the mournful Shade replied,
"Whose gen'rous soul may bid your fortune rise;"
Then cast around a parting look,—and sigh'd,—
My feeble arm in vain to stay him tries.

Ex-

Explanation of the RIDDLE *inserted p.* 152.

MY Rhymes, you ſay, a place ſhall find;
But, anxious for each reader's mind,
(Leſt doubtful puzzling ſhould perplex them,
And wild interpretations vex them),
You urge me forthwith to explain
This falſe-conception of my brain,
And all my Riddle's meanings ſhow.—
I ſhall;—but firſt exact this vow,—
"That by no eyes ſhall this be ſeen
"But ſuch as read your Magazine."
The web that circles kings and lords
Reaches, at laſt, the rag-man's hoards;
His tatter'd ſtores alike ſupplied
By ſhreds of poverty and pride.
Till, Art's tranſmuting pow'r exerted,
To PAPER are thoſe rags converted.
Now chang'd in nature and in name,
New value, new reſpect they claim:
A faithful tablet to the mind!
An uſeful agent for mankind!
In ſuch a change we ſoon explore
The topics nam'd, and twenty more.
"What devils, next, thy theme employs?"
Thoſe devils are but printers boys:
The oil, foot, ſtamps, and preſs, but hint-
At all the implements of printing, [ing
And this aſſumption of vexation
Alluding all to publication.
Then various merits, various looks,
As authors vary and as books,
The PAPER takes:—The feeling heart,
Reſponſive to the poet's art,
Or ſinks with grief, or ſwells with fulneſs,
Or feels the opiate power of dulneſs.
When to the coffeehouſe we fly,
Impatience darting from each eye,
While Expectation ſeizes all—
"The News—the *Paper*"—is the call.
Then, whether Keppel's rage be ſhewn
By waiting—till his foes are gone,
Or Rodney Britain's vengeance pours,
Heedleſs of Night-ſtorms and Lee-ſhores,
Th'important PAPER, once inſpected,
For ever after lies neglected.
And, Mr Printer, now, I ween,
You gueſs the ſort of *Magazine*,
Where quires and reams are monthly ſtor'd;—
You who have form'd ſo vaſt a hoard!
The various fates of books appear;
Works of a day, a month, a year!
While ſome, like Milton's, lie neglected,
To be by after-times reſpected;
'Tho' long obſcur'd in ſhades of night,
At length their beauties ſtrike the ſight.
A ſtupid author ſcarce affords
Genius to free his book from hoards;
But when true wit or ſenſe is felt,
'Tis quickly *bound*, and richly gilt.
Laſtly, the hint addreſt to you,
Tho' ſomewhat rude, is, na'th'leſs, true; [her,
When Pride is rous'd harſh words may 'ſcape
But ſtill you printers are oblig'd to PAPER.

ODE on the death of a Goldfinch.

HArk! all is huſh'd—Death's dart hath ſped:
No motion ſtirs the charmer's breaſt:
With him the voice of Muſic's fled
To fields of ſilence, and of reſt.

Long did he tuneful tend the Fair,
And charm her with his careleſs lay,
As oft, with mind devoid of care,
She heard him many a live-long day.

—Death came at laſt,—ſince nought below
Death's hand relentleſs paſſes by:—
Ev'n Beauty blaſted owns the blow,
And men, and beaſts, and birds, muſt die.

The awful hour that foils the ſtrong,
Was here by fatal ſigns foretold;
Languiſh'd the lays that ſweet had ſung,
And flagg'd the wing that gleam'd with gold.

His eye with looks of ſad deſpair
Spoke with what agonies he pin'd,
Call'd pity from the gen'rous Fair,
And waken'd all her tender mind.

At laſt from forth the wiry frame,
Urg'd by diſtreſsful fate, he flew;
To that fair hand he drooping came,
Whence oft his little food he drew.

Woeful he look'd, and ſtooping down,
In gaſps he told his anguiſh dire:
Sore ſigh'd the Fair at ev'ry groan,
And mournful ſaw her bird expire.

An Epitaph in imitation of SHENSTONE.

——*Quibus ipſa, procul diſcordibus pennis,*
Fundit humo facilem victum juſtiſſima tellus.
VIRG.

MUte here a merry Poet lies;
He only made pretence
To ſimple, limping, laughing lines,
Which never gave offence.

And he was peaceful like his Muſe;
The worſt that we can ſay,
Is, that he ſold his apples dear,
And — on the Sabbath-day.

More happy than ſuperior wits
In life's firſt rank who mov'd;
But—who nor liv'd, nor died like him—
Reſpected and belov'd.

No *Patron* flatter'd and betray'd,
No *Bookſeller* oppreſt:
His meal was light, his ſleep was ſound,
His verſes were his jeſt.

Nor (treading on the old man's turf),
Can he who writes forbear
To pay departed *Innocence*
An honeſt, heart-ſhed tear.

Critic, forgive the firſt eſſay
Of one whoſe thoughts are plain,—
Whoſe heart is full,—who never means
To ſteal your time again.

Caſtle-Jokes, near Dumfries.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

RUSSIA. [43.]

Declaration from the Empreſs of Ruſſia to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid.

THE Empreſs of all the Ruſſias has fully manifeſted her ſentiments of equity and moderation, and has given evident proofs during the courſe of the war that ſhe ſupported againſt the Ottoman Porte, of the regard ſhe has for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of univerſal commerce, as all Europe can witneſs. This conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality that ſhe has diſplayed during the preſent war, juſtly inſpired her with the fulleſt confidence, that her ſubjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their induſtry, and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheleſs proved the contrary. Neither the above-mentioned conſiderations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the ſubjects of her Imperial Majeſty from being often moleſted in their navigation, and ſtopped in their operations, by thoſe of the belligerent powers.

Theſe hindrances to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Ruſſia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The Empreſs finds herſelf obliged therefore to free it by all the means compatible with her dignity, and the well-being of her ſubjects; but before ſhe puts this into execution, and with a ſincere intention to prevent any future infringements, ſhe thought it but juſt to publiſh to all Europe the principles ſhe means to follow, which are the propereſt to prevent any miſunderſtanding, or any occurrences that may occaſion it. Her Imperial Majeſty does it with the more confidence, as ſhe finds theſe principles coincident with the primitive right of nations, which every people may reclaim, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate, without violating the laws of neutrality, and without diſavowing the maxims they have adopted in the different treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points.

1. That all neutral ſhips may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coaſts of nations at war.

2. That the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid warring powers, ſhall be free in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandiſe.

3. That the Empreſs, as to the ſpecification of the above-mentioned merchandiſe, holds to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with G. Britain, extending her obligations to all the powers at war.

4. That to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, this is only to be underſtood of one which is ſo well kept in by the ſhips of the power that attacks it, and which keep their places, that it is dangerous to enter into it.

5. That theſe principles ſerve as a rule for proceedings and judgements upon the legality of prizes.

Her Imperial Majeſty, in making theſe points public, does not heſitate to declare, that to maintain them, and to protect the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe has prepared the greateſt part of her maritime forces. This meaſure will not, however, influence the ſtrict neutrality ſhe does obſerve, and will obſerve, ſo long as ſhe is not provoked, and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet will have orders to go where-ever honour, intereſt, and need may require.

In giving this ſolemn aſſurance, with the uſual openneſs of her character, the Empreſs cannot do other than promiſe herſelf, that the belligerent powers, convinced of the ſentiments of juſtice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accompliſhment of theſe ſalutary purpoſes, which manifeſtly tend to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of thoſe at war. In conſequence of which, her Imperial Majeſty will furniſh her commanding officers with inſtructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of nations, and ſo often adopted in their conventions.

UNITED PROVINCES. [156.]

The following reſolution concerning the ſuccours demanded by G. Britain, as ſtipulated by the treaty of 1668, was taken by the ſtates of Zealand on the 6th, and preſented to the States-General on the 10th of April.

"That the ſtates of Zealand apprehend, that the republic will be expoſed to new differences by his Britannic Majeſty's

jeſty's meaſures towards it, as it is but too much to be feared that the anſwer of their High Mightineſſes may not ſatisfy either of the belligerent powers; that for that reaſon they would have wiſhed that this requiſition might have been prevented by friendly negociations, and the mildeſt meaſures.

That even ſuppoſing that the *caſus fœderis* actually exiſted at this day, and that the ſuccours in queſtion might be demanded in conſequence of it; yet the internal ſtate of the republic would not permit it at preſent, to take ſuch a delicate ſtep, without imminent danger: and therefore, by conſulting only the nature and ſpirit of treaties, it may be pronounced, that the ſuccours ought not to be exacted, ſince it is underſtood that treaties ought not to contain any thing contrary to the proper ſafety of the powers which contract them.

They moreover think, they are authoriſed to doubt, if the ſuccours claimed by his Britannic Majeſty will agree with his true intereſts; becauſe it may happen, that by the republic's furniſhing the ſuccours at firſt, it may not be long before ſhe will have occaſion herſelf for more conſiderable aſſiſtance.

For theſe reaſons they are of opinion, that it is no wiſe contrary to the obligation which the alliance with G. Britain impoſes on the republic, to defer granting theſe demanded ſuccours; and that the ſtate ought to excuſe itſelf in the civileſt manner, in the hope that his Britannic Majeſty will be ſatisfied with theſe excuſes, and ſuffer the inhabitants of this ſtate to enjoy the liberty of commerce aſſured to them by treaties.

They likewiſe think, that in order to prevent any miſunderſtanding with England, and alſo to obviate any accidents ſimilar to what hath lately happened between the men of war of the two nations [46.], a negotiation ſhould be entered into as ſoon as poſſible with that crown, to fix in a more ample manner the right which we have, on our ſide, to trade freely with ſuch merchandiſe as are not declared contraband by the treaty of 1674, and relative to the article of the ſearch of ſhips, authoriſed by Great Britain, ſtipulated by the ſaid treaty, and exerciſed even againſt veſſels ſailing under convoy. Theſe meaſures appear to them to be the moſt proper, to prevent falſe ideas, and contradictory explanations of the ſaid treaty, from expoſing the country to troubles, their flag from diſagreeable difficulties, and their commercial inhabitants from unexpected confiſcations of their goods, and conſiderable damages; and alſo to maintain, with a requiſite dignity, the ſyſtem of neutrality they have adopted; without prejudice, nevertheleſs, to the reciprocal obligations which have exiſted for above a century between G. Britain and this ſtate."

The ſtates of the province of Utrecht came to the like reſolution with the ſtates of Holland [156.], April 5. which was communicated to the States-General on the 11th.

"*Amſterdam, April 6.* A placart has been publiſhed here, recalling to their own country all the ſeamen belonging to the ſtates of Holland that may be employed in the ſervice of foreign powers, whether in the naval or mercantile account. The latter end of April only is given thoſe to return that are in Europe, but a longer time is ſet down for thoſe that are in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, Africa, &c. &c."

"*Hague, April 27.* The Duke de la Vauguion, the French ambaſſador, was yeſterday in conference with the Preſident of the States-General, when he delivered a memorial, in which he declared, that the King his maſter revoked the duties he had lately impoſed upon the Dutch ſhips going to France, &c."

A memorial preſented to the States-General by Prince Gallitzin, the Ruſſian miniſter.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE underwritten Envoy-Extraordinary from the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the Empreſs his ſovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your High Mightineſſes may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the Empreſs for the Republic, which is equally intereſted in the reaſons which occaſioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your High Mightineſſes, in the name of her Imperial Majeſty, that how deſirous ſoever ſhe may be, on the one hand, to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality during the preſent war; yet her Majeſty is as determined to take the moſt efficacious means to ſupport the honour of the Ruſſian flag, and the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, and not

ſuffer

ſuffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers: That in order to prevent, on this occaſion, any miſunderſtanding, or falſe interpretation, ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſpecify in the declaration the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband: That if the definition of the former is founded upon the cleareſt notions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and G. Britain, by which her Imperial Majeſty means inconteſtably to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that ſhe conſequently apprehends, that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From theſe conſiderations, her Imperial Majeſty has ordered the underwritten to invite your High Mightineſſes to make a common cauſe with her, as ſuch an union, and the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality, will protect trade and navigation; and to communicate to your High Mightineſſes the regulation ſhe has in conſequence taken.

A ſimilar invitation has been made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Liſbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural ſyſtem, founded on juſtice, may be eſtabliſhed and legaliſed in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages may ſerve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your High Mightineſſes will, without delay, take the invitation of her Imperial Majeſty into conſideration, and concur in it, by immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the ſame principles as that of the Empreſs, explaining at the ſame time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their reſpective treaties with the other nations.

For the reſt, the underwritten has the honour to aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that if, to eſtabliſh on a ſolid foundation a ſyſtem as glorious, as it is advantageous to the welfare of navigation in general, they would open a negociation with the neutral powers above-mentioned, in order to eſtabliſh a particular convention on that ſubject, the Empreſs, his Sovereign, will be ready to come into it.

Your High Mightineſſes will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of accelerating your reſolutions upon objects of ſuch importance and advantage to humanity in general. The underwritten requeſts the favour of a ſpeedy anſwer.

DEMETRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3. 1780.

FRANCE. [157.]

"*Paris, April* 21. The Chamber of Accounts have, by the King's orders, regiſtered on the 18th of this month, the edict which ſuppreſſes the forty-eight offices of Receivers-General of the Finances, and inſtitutes a company of twelve of theſe ſuppreſſed receivers to fill up their places to the year 1787, and perform all the functions of the offices ſuppreſſed. They are to depoſit in the royal treaſury one million each, and be bound for the caſhier, who, on their preſentation, will be entruſted with the public money."

ENGLAND. [165.]

The following order of council appeared in the London Gazette of April 18. and was continued in the two next ſucceſſive gazettes.

"At the court at St James's, the 17th of April 1780, preſent the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

WHEREAS ſince the commencement of the war in which Great Britain is engaged by the unprovoked aggreſſion of France and Spain, repeated memorials have been preſented by his Majeſty's ambaſſador to the States-General of the United Provinces, demanding the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty; to which requiſition, though ſtrongly called upon in the laſt memorial, of March 21. [153.] their High Mightineſſes have given no anſwer, nor ſignified any intention of complying therewith: And whereas, by the non-performance of the cleareſt engagements, they deſert the alliance that has ſo long ſubſiſted between the Crown of G. Britain and the Republic, and place themſelves in the condition of a neutral power, bound to this kingdom by no treaty; every principle of wiſdom and juſtice requires, that his Majeſty ſhould conſider them henceforward as ſtanding only in that diſtant relation in which they have placed themſelves: His Majeſty therefore having taken this matter into his royal conſideration, doth, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, judge it expedient to carry into immediate execution thoſe intentions which were formerly notified in the memorial preſented by

by his Ambaſſador on the 21ſt of March laſt, and previouſly ſignified in an official verbal declaration, made by Lord Viſcount Stormont, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to Count Welderen, Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Republic, nearly two months before the delivery of the aforeſaid memorial. For theſe cauſes, his Majeſty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, doth declare, That the ſubjects of the United Provinces are henceforward to be conſidered upon the ſame footing with thoſe of other neutral ſtates not privileged by treaty; and his Majeſty doth hereby ſuſpend, provisionally, and till further order, all the particular ſtipulations reſpecting the freedom of navigation and commerce, in time of war, of the ſubjects of the States-General, contained in the ſeveral treaties now ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and the Republic, and more particularly thoſe contained in the Marine treaty between G. Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, December 1-11th, 1674.

From a humane regard to the intereſt of individuals, and a deſire to prevent their ſuffering by any ſurpriſe, his Majeſty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, doth declare, That the effect of this his Majeſty's order ſhall take place at the following terms, viz.

In the Channel and the North Seas, twelve days after the date hereof.

From the Channel, the Britiſh Seas, and the North Seas, as far as the Canary iſlands incluſively, either in the Ocean or Mediterranean, the term ſhall be ſix weeks from the aforeſaid date.

Three months from the ſaid Canary iſlands, as far as the Equinoctial Line or Equator.

And laſtly, ſix months beyond the ſaid Line or Equator, and in all other parts of the world, without any exception or other more particular deſcription of time and place.

STEPH. COTTRELL."

What follows is an abſtract of the treaty 1674, referred to in the above order of council.

By art. 1. it is declared lawful for the ſubjects of either power, to ſail, trade, &c. in all the kingdoms, countries, and eſtates, which are in peace, amity, or neutrality, with the contracting powers, without being any ways hindered or moleſted by military forces, or ſhips of war.

Art. 2. adds, "Nor ſhall this freedom of commerce be infringed by occaſion or cauſe of any war, but ſhall extend to all commodities, thoſe only excepted which are compreheded under the name of *contraband*."

Art. 3. mentions, that the contraband commodities are, "only arms, pieces of ordnance, with all implements belonging to them, fire-balls, powder, match, bullets, ſpikes, ſwords, lancets, ſpears, halberts, guns, mortar-pieces, petards, grenadoes, muſquet-reſts, bandaliers, ſalt-petre, muſquets, muſquet-ſhot, helmets, corſelets, breaſtplates, coats of mail, and the like kind of armature, ſoldiers horſes, and all things neceſſary for the furniture of horſes, holſters, belts, and all other warlike inſtruments whatſoever."

By art. 4. the following merchandiſes are declared not to be reckoned among prohibited goods, viz. "All kinds of cloth, and all other manufactures woven of any kind of wool, flax, cotton, or any other materials; all ſorts of cloathing and veſtments, together with materials whereof they uſed to be made; gold and ſilver, as well coined as not coined; tin, iron, lead, copper, and coals; as alſo wheat, barley, and all other kind of corn or pulſe; tobacco, and all kinds of ſpices; ſalted and ſmoaked fleſh; ſalted and dried fiſh, butter and cheeſe; beer, oils, wines, ſugars, and all ſorts of ſalt; and in general, all proviſion which ſerves for the nouriſhment and ſuſtenance of life; likewiſe all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, and pitch; and ropes, ſails, and anchors; alſo maſts and planks, boards and beams, of what ſort of wood ſoever; and all other materials requiſite for the building or repairing ſhips." Theſe may be freely tranſported by the ſubjects of either power, to places in enmity with either, except only towns or places beſieged, blocked up, or inveſted."

The other articles contain regulations for the viſiting and examining the ſhips of the contracting powers, confiſcating ſuch contraband effects as may be found in them, and puniſhing offenders acting in contravention to this treaty.

Under art. 8. is the following clauſe, which more particularly ſerves to explain the order of council.—"And leſt any damage ſhould by ſurpriſe be done to the one party who is in peace, when the other party ſhall happen to be engaged in war, it is provided and agreed, That

That a ſhip belonging to the enemies of the one party, and laden with the goods of the ſubjects of the other party, ſhall not infect, or render the ſaid goods liable to confication, in caſe they were laden before the expiration of the terms and times hereafter mentioned, after the declaration or publication of any ſuch war, viz. if the goods were laden in any port or place between the places or limits called the Soundings, and the Naze in Norway, within the ſpace of ſix weeks after ſuch declaration; of two months between the ſaid place the Soundings and the city of Tangier; and of ten weeks in the Mediterranean ſea; or within the ſpace of eight months in any other country or place in the world; ſo that it ſhall not be lawful to confiſcate the goods taken or ſeized in any ſhip or veſſel whatſoever by either of the contracting powers, upon that pretence, but the ſame ſhall be without delay reſtored to the proprietors, unleſs they were laden after the expiration of the ſaid terms of time reſpectively; but ſo that it may not be lawful for them afterwards to carry to enemies ports the ſaid merchandiſes which are called contraband.

A letter from Gibraltar of March 24. runs thus. "We are ſo cloſely blockaded, that there is no poſſibility of a ſhip ſailing from hence unperceived, except under covert of a dark bluſtry night. The Spaniards have lying oppoſite to us ſeven ſail of the line, beſides frigates, and other armed veſſels. Our ſmall ſquadron conſiſts of only one ſeventy-four, two frigates, an armed brig, and a cutter."

Some acts having been paſſed by the Britiſh parliament in favour of Ireland, ſoon after paſſing the firſt [41. 724.], an addreſs from the city of Dublin was preſented to the King [49.]. Since paſſing others [100. 161.], many more addreſſes from that kingdom have been preſented to his Majeſty; and they appeared in the London gazettes of the following dates, viz. March 18. one, from the grand jury of the county of Limerick;—March 25. four, from the counties of Lowth and Weſtmeath, the county of the town of Drogheda, and the city of Londonderry;—April 4. one, from the county of Fermanaugh;—April 11. five, from the counties of Cavan, Mayo, and Longford, the city of Kilkenay, and the Biſhop and clergy of Cork and Roſs;—April 15. one, from the county of Tyrone;—April 18. three, from the counties of Kilkenny, Galway, and Kildare;—April 22. four, from the county of Corke, the county of the city of Corke, the city and county of Londonderry, and the town of Belfaſt;—and April 25. five, from the high ſheriff and grand jury of the county of Wexford, March 31. the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Wexford, April 4. the counties of Clare, Wicklow, and Tipperary.

All theſe addreſſes contain the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude and loyalty to the King; but any compliment to the Britiſh parliament ſeems in many of them to be ſtudiouſly avoided.—"Though our ports were capable for all the purpoſes of trade, though our flocks cropt the rich paſture of a thouſand hills, and our vales could give an hundred fold to the diligent huſbandman; yet, in the midſt of Nature's bounty, the joyleſs and inactive poſſeſſors felt the iron hand of reſtrictive law, that limited the effects of induſtry to a home conſumption, and ſhut out the redundancies of the world, by an almoſt prohibition from their neceſſary uſe.—Perfectly ſenſible of their ſituation, though your loyal ſubjects could feel it without murmuring, they cannot without an exultation of joy, which words can poorly expreſs, pour forth the happineſs of being emancipated from that ſtate by your royal benevolence, which is ſo particularly manifeſted by making this kingdom worthy of your royal attention, in the midſt of troubles that have broken the peace of ſo great a part both of the New and Old World." *Corke county.*

In ſeveral, however, a compliment is paid to the parliament, and to the people.——"Our hearts overflow with gratitude for the great and happy meaſures, which the wiſdom of your Majeſty's councils, the liberal ſentiments of the Britiſh parliament, and the generous concurrence of the whole Britiſh nation, have completed for our relief." *Lowth county.* Tyrone and Kildare counties expreſs themſelves in nearly the ſame words.

"We are truly ſenſible of the enlightened policy, and liberality of ſentiment, which has diſpoſed our fellow-ſubjects of G. Britain to admit us to a ſhare of ſuch great commercial advantages." *Fermanagh county.*

The

"The liberality with which G. Britain has received this country into a kind participation of her trade, cannot fail of uniting us more clofely in affection and regard to our fifter-kingdom." *Cavan county.*

"We are the more highly gratified by this act of juft liberality, becaufe we are perfuaded it muft kindle in the breaft of every true Irifhman the moft cordial warmth and attachment to our fellow-fubjects in G. Britain, whofe juftice and generofity fo heartily concurred with your Majefty's benevolence towards us." *Mayo county.*

"The great commercial advantages derived to us from the late acts, while they afford the moft adequate and effectual relief to our diftreffes, mark out the benevolent father of his people, the wifdom and benignity of his councils, and the juftice and liberality of the Britifh fenate, and at the fame time give us fuch aflurance of the affection of G. Britain, as muft connect the intereffs, cement the union, and double every tie between the two nations." *Kilkenny city.*

"We think ourfelves called upon to expreſs, in conjunction with our fellow-citizens, the warmeft fentiments of gratitude for the important favours lately conferred by G. Britain upon this kingdom." *Cork and Roſs clergy.*

"The commercial advantages which have been extended to this kingdom by the wifdom and benignity of your Majefty's councils, and the liberal conduct of the Britifh parliament, call upon us for the warmeft expreffions of fatisfaction and gratitude." *Kilkenny county.*

"The participation of the colony-trade we receive with gratitude as a free gift, equally marking the wifdom of your Majefty, and the liberality of the Britifh parliament." *Londonderry city and county.*

"Permit us to expreſs our moft unfeigned thanks, and heart-felt fatisfaction, for your Majefty's goodneſs, manifefted by your concurrence with the Britifh parliament, in abolifhing feveral of the principal reftrictions on our trade, and liberally opening to us new fources of commerce, by admitting us to a participation of the trade of G. Britain." *Belfaſt town.*

"We entertain a moft grateful fenfe of your Majefty's unremitted attention to the intereffs of Ireland; and the happy alteration which the wifdom of your councils, and the liberal fentiments of the Britifh parliament, have made in the fituation of our affairs." *Grand jury of the county of Wexford.* The nobility, &c. of the county of Wexford, and the counties of Clare and Wicklow, ufe almoft the fame words.

"*London, March* 11. Yefterday Sir Richard Heron, Secretary of State in Ireland, prefented to the King the addreffes from both Houfes of Parliament in Ireland."——The addreffes appeared in the London gazette of March 11. without mentioning by whom they were prefented,—thus.

"*Dublin Caſtle, March* 3. The Houfes of Lords and Commons having refolved upon humble addreffes to his Majefty, the fame were this day prefented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and are as follow.

To the KING's Moft Excellent Majefty,

The Humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moft Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majefty's dutiful and loyal fubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, moft humbly beſeech your Majefty to accept our moft unfeigned thanks for your Majefty's unwearied and zealous attention to the welfare of this kingdom; the happy effects of which are now moft particularly manifefted in thofe falutary meaſures which the wifdom of your Majefty's councils, the liberal fentiments of the Britifh parliament, and the generous concurrence of the whole Britifh nation have completed for our relief.

We beg leave to aſſure your Majefty, that we receive theſe with the moft grateful fatisfaction; that they afford an adequate remedy to our diſtreſſes; and that in giving to us a moft happy proof of the ſincere affection of Great Britain, they tend moſt powerfully to continue, and to increaſe, that mutual confidence and harmony between your Majefty's ſubjects of both kingdoms, which it ſhall ever be our ſtudy anxiouſly to cheriſh.

And we further beg leave to aſſure your Majefty, that being truly ſenſible of the many bleſſings which muſt ariſe from ſuch mutual confidence, we will, to the utmoſt of our power, diſcourage and defeat every attempt which miſguided men may make towards raiſing groundleſs jealouſies in the minds of your

Majeſty's people, or diverting their attention from the commercial advantages ſo extenſively held out to them.

WM WATTS GAYER, } Cler. Parliament.
EDWARD GAYER, }

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, humbly beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty of our unfeigned attachment to your Royal perſon and government.

We entertain a moſt grateful ſenſe of your Majeſty's unremitted attention to the intereſts of Ireland, and the happy alteration which the wiſdom of your councils, and the liberal ſentiments of the Britiſh parliament, have made in the ſituation of our affairs.

We feel a double ſatisfaction at the benefits which have been conferred on us, both as they appear to us to be an adequate remedy for the poverty of this country, and as they are undoubted proofs of that fifterly affection which we think we have a right to expect from Great Britain, and which it ſhall be our conſtant ſtudy to cultivate and improve into the moſt perfect mutual confidence.

We do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that we feel the ſincereſt pleaſure at finding, that the ties which have always united the two kingdoms, are now drawn cloſer by the conduct of our fellow-ſubjects; and do aſſure your Majeſty, that on our parts our utmoſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to maintain that intimate connection between both kingdoms, which we are moſt firmly perſuaded is inſeparable from their happineſs and proſperity.

S. CAREW, Cler. Dom. Com."

At a county-meeting held, by adjournment, in the aſſembly-room, York, March 28. by a very reſpectable, but not ſo numerous a body of freeholders as attended that in December [50.], the Rev. Mr Wyvil, who opened the buſineſs, ſtated the neceſſity of a plan of aſſociation; and propoſed a form, by which each ſubſcriber engages to ſupport no candidate, at the next general election, to repreſent any place, without being firſt ſatisfied, that the candidate will give his utmoſt ſupport in parliament to the three following propoſitions.

"1. For one or more bills to correct profuſion in the expenditure of public money; to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and paſſing public accounts; to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office; and to reform the abuſes of ſinecure places, and penſions unmerited by public ſervice.

2. For a bill to eſtabliſh greater equality in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, by allowing the ſeveral counties of the kingdom of G. Britain to elect, in a due proportion, a hundred knights at leaſt in addition to the preſent number.

3. For a bill to ſhorten the duration of parliaments to a term not exceeding three years."

Sir George Saville gave his full conſent to the firſt propoſition; but Sir George, and Spencer Stanhope, Eſq; and Lord John Cavendiſh, had their doubts concerning the ſecond and third; which Mr Tooker endeavoured to remove. At length the form was agreed to unanimouſly, and adopted.

At a general meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Middleſex, held at Hackney, April 11. Ald. Townſend in the chair, a report of a committee was given in, viz. "That it is the opinion of this committee, 1. That there ſhould be ſent to the Houſe of Commons, in addition to the preſent repreſentatives of counties, a number of members not leſs than a hundred, to be choſen in due proportion by the ſeveral counties of G. Britain; 2. That parliaments ſhould be choſen at leaſt every three years; 3. That it be moſt earneſtly recommended to the electors of this county, to ſupport, at the enſuing general election, ſuch candidates to repreſent them in parliament, as ſhall, previous to the election, by ſigning an aſſociation, or otherwiſe, have ſatisfied them, that they will ſupport the above important regulations in parliament, or ſo much thereof as ſhall not be obtained in the preſent parliament. All which reſolutions were agreed to *nem. con.* Then, on a motion by Mr Grieve, the thanks of the meeting were given to John Wilkes and Thomas Wood, Eſqs, knights of the ſhire, for their ſteady and patriotic conduct in parliament.—Motions were then made, for recommending

ing it to the committee, to endeavour to eſtabliſh the elections throughout the kingdom to be in future by ballot, and to procure the repeal or amendment of the late acts paſſed in favour of Popery; which, after being for a conſiderable time inveſtigated, were withdrawn. —Col. Miles moved, That the repreſentatives of this county be inſtructed, at a convenient opportunity, to impeach the miniſters who adviſed the preſent ruinous and deſtructive war with America: which was carried *nem. con.* — On being aſked the nature of a late act reſpecting the qualification of voters [162.], Sir Joſeph Mawbey and Mr Byng told, that by that act, which is to take place on the 1ſt of January next, every freeholder is to have his name, or the name of his tenant, regiſtered in the land-tax book, a neglect of which will diſqualify the voter: a ſpeedy compliance with which the meeting recommended.

IRELAND. [53.]

"*Belfaſt, Feb.* 12. The following reſolutions contain the ſentiments of the generality of the people in this kingdom. We want to begin the buſineſs by the repeal of the declaratory law, which alone can give us ſecurity for the continuance of Lord North's three propoſitions [41. 659.]. In this caſe, England will have the hearts and hands of this kingdom ſolely hers. Diſunion, diſcontent, or jealouſy, will be no more, and the volunteers will then be as ready to fight for Britain as for Ireland. — They will be one. — A force like theirs, formidable by numbers and diſcipline, but more by ſpirit, is not to be deſpiſed. — England has her choice of them as friends, or contra.

Reſolved, That the kingdom of Ireland cannot be free while under the controul of any other authority than that of our rightful Sovereign George III. and our Houſes of Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled: That therefore all interference of a Britiſh Parliament in the conſtitution or commerce of this nation, is an encroachment on the prerogative of our Sovereign, and on the natural rights of his loyal people of Ireland.

Reſolved, That the Britiſh acts lately paſſed relative to this kingdom, which declare, that it is expedient to redreſs ſome of the grievances of Ireland, do not amount to a full relinquiſhment or renunciation of the rights aſſumed over us by the Britiſh parliament, but are rather a conceſſion from power, which ſtrives to appear generous, when it is barely juſt; and preſuming on our acceptance of partial freedom as a gratuity, not as a right, endeavours to prevent our future reaſonable demands, and to continue its own controul; that therefore untimely and immoderate gratitude, for the recovery of a right, is an acquieſcence in the authority which aſſumed it, an authority that may limit or recal its offers when national ſpirit becomes leſs vigorous and univerſal.

Reſolved, That we ſhould therefore have but ſmall reaſon to rejoice at our preſent condition, did not the liberal policy which now ſeems to influence the Britiſh legiſlature, and the firm exertions of diſintereſted patriotiſm in the Iriſh parliament, give us the ſtrongeſt reaſon to hope, that the former will be as ready to reſign this authority, as the latter will be forward in their demand of it.

Reſolved, That we ſhould be wanting to ourſelves, to poſterity, and our country, if we forbore declaring, in the moſt public manner, that we will, with all manly firmneſs, co-operate with our parliament, and the independent corps of this kingdom, in every meaſure neceſſary to attain this great and glorious end.

Reſolved, That our committee of nine be inſtructed to open a correſpondence with neighbouring volunteer-companies, the better to effectuate this deſired unanimity."

"*London, April* 1. Orders have been ſent to Lord Buckingham, to be very aſſiduous in procuring exact returns of the armed aſſociations; and we are aſſured, that the laſt return ſent over made them no more than 41,500, of which only 32,000 were at all diſciplined."

"*Dublin, April* 5. The martial ſpirit diffuſed throughout the kingdom ſeems every day to gather ſtrength, and the gallant patriotic flame glows with unremitting ardour. No leſs than five new corps have been embodied ſince the firſt of January laſt, under leaders as diſtinguiſhed for their ſteadineſs to their country's cauſe, as for their good ſenſe and perſonal courage. The armourers are every day at work, cannon is caſting, and a number of camp-equipages are actually making in this city for the volunteer-army."

A letter from Dublin, received at London about April 20. runs thus. "This city and its environs bear every

appearance of being in a ſtate of war. Every Sunday is a field-day. At ſix o' clock in the morning, the Independent companies muſter at the 'Change, every man being furniſhed with proviſions, powder, ball, &c. for the day. After being called over, they march into the neighbouring fields, where prayers are read to them; and then they ſeparate into different bodies; and, taking various routes, the reſt of the morning is ſpent in marches, mock ſkirmiſhes, &c. till dinner-time; after which they repeat the ſame exerciſes; and return in the evening with drums beating and colours flying to the 'Change; where they are diſmiſſed from duty."

"*London, March* 24. By the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland's arrival here, together with that of the Secretary, Sir Richard Heron [217.], the fears of that government are preſumed to be great, relative to the aſſociated corps. The object of their embaſſy is, to know whether the parliament of Ireland may be permitted to comply with the wiſhes of the public, relative to the repeal of Poyning's law [77.], or what part, or if any of it, may be repealed."

Inſtructions given to their repreſentatives in parliament, which were ſigned by 2366 freeholders of the county of Down, contain the following particulars.—"We are now, and ever will be, determined to ſupport our natural rights. —The King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland, are the only legiſlative authority that we acknowledge; no laws that are not framed by thoſe powers, excluſive of the interference of any other, can be ever binding to us; nor is that nation free that is ſubject to the controul of another. Upon theſe principles were Great Britain and Ireland united; may that union be laſting! — Convinced that ſuch parts of Poyning's laws as give any ſhare of legiſlative power to the privy council, militate againſt our original conſtitution, we call upon you to exert your utmoſt abilities for their repeal; as alſo to obtain a declaration of the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature, to be recorded on your journals."

The King's anſwer to their Addreſs [217.] was read in the Houſe of Lords, April 12. viz.

"GEORGE R.

His Majeſty receives in the moſt gracious manner, and with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the dutiful and loyal Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords.

His Majeſty obſerves with pleaſure their ſtrong expreſſions of the juſt ſenſe of gratitude which they ſo becomingly entertain for the ſalutary meaſures adopted for the relief of the diſtreſſes of his Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects, and for thoſe benefits which have been conferred upon them by the Britiſh parliament, with the generous concurrence of the whole Britiſh nation; and it is moſt pleaſing to his Majeſty to receive the aſſurances of the Houſe of Lords, that they will make it their ſtudy anxiouſly to cultivate and cheriſh that mutual confidence and harmony between the two kingdoms, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity and happineſs of both: but their juſt and proper declaration, that they will, to the utmoſt of their power, diſcourage and defeat every attempt which miſguided men may make to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies in the minds of his Majeſty's people, and to divert their attention from the extenſive commercial advantages held out to them, as it cannot fail of being moſt acceptable to his Majeſty, and deſerving of his royal approbation, the Houſe of Lords may depend upon a continuance of his Majeſty's favour and protection, and of his conſtant ſupport of the real intereſts of his faithful ſubjects of Ireland."

A moſt gracious anſwer was likewiſe given by the King to the addreſs of the Commons [218.]; to which that Hon. Houſe gave an addreſs of thanks, viz.

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our unfeigned thanks for your moſt gracious anſwer to the addreſs of the Houſe; and to aſſure your Majeſty of our entire confidence, that your Majeſty will on all occaſions attend to the proſperity of this kingdom, and to every means that may promote the true welfare of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in Ireland."

The Rt Hon. James Forteſcue moved the Commons, Feb. 23. for leave to bring in heads of a bill to naturalize ſuch foreign merchants and others as ſhall ſettle in this kingdom. Seconded by Mr Latouche, Mr Parnell, and Mr Ogle, very warmly. After prefacing his motion, he ended with ſaying, "Let me lay this little bill on your table, which contains only twenty lines. It is ſhort, but ſweet like a ſhamrock, and will I hope bring back

back to us the deſcendents of many brave Iriſhmen, who were forced to leave this lovely iſland by abſurd reſtrictions, and by differences about religious matters, which I own I know nothing of. Let every man adore his Creator as he likes beſt. And now I muſt recommend to my young friends, that before this extenſive ſubject is debated, they may read Pliny the Younger's letters to the Emperor Trajan, the father of his people, whilſt that amiable man was governor of Bithynia. They will there ſee upon what noble principles that generous nation, the ſubduers of the then known world (except Ireland), acted. Whilſt godlike liberty prevailed amongſt them, they had their Pantheon: let that noble ſtructure, the Royal Exchange, be ours; and may I live to ſee the inhabitants of this world ſhake each other by the hand there, as brethren, from the burning ſands of Africa, to the frozen mountains of Canada, from China to Peru; and let the great commandment be written, in golden letters, over the entrance, LOVE ONE ANOTHER." After a long debate, the motion paſſed without a diviſion.

A letter from Burren, in Clare county, of March 5. gives an account, that Mr Davoren, in digging away the foundation of an old tower near the abbey of St Darah, diſcovered an opening; and in a few hours cleared away the rubbiſh which covered twenty-two ſteps of a fort of red granite, which led into a large ſquare room of hewn ſtone, entirely formed of the ſame kind as the ſtairs; and containing fourteen niches; in ſeven of which were ſet upright long oak boxes; each of which contained ſome earth and a ſkeleton: the bones were very brittle, and the exterior parts of the coffins rotten. On a large ſquare ſtone ſet up in the ſouth ſide is an inſcription in the old Iriſh, or Bearla Eirnna, which Dr Dawes has thus tranſlated.

"Cahil the ſon of Aorth, the ſon of Oſcra, the ſon of Cucullen. Tieghernan, the ſon of Bracklamn. Lunduh, Greanaulin, Fardragha, three brothers.

Illaan, Suilaulin, two ſiſters.

All the houſe of Burren.

From learned Phœnicia they drew that ſpark of life which was extinguiſhed with the ſun in the Weſtern ocean."

No date has been yet diſcovered, nor any other monument of antiquity which can enlighten the ſubject.

CAPTURES. [166.]

From Lloyd's Marine Liſt.

By Britiſh men of war, &c.

By the America, Capt. Thomſon: Le Roy Midas, carried into Kinſale.

By the Alexander and Courageux: The Monſieur, a very fine French frigate of 40 guns and 360 men.

By the Stag: The Sartine, a French privateer of 16 guns and 87 men. The Sartine had juſt taken the Clarendon, which is retaken by the Stag.

By the Macworth armed ſhip: The Charming Betſey, Roberts, from Penryn to Briſtol, retaken, and carried into Swanſey.

By the Fly ſloop of war: The Lady Mary, Scheffer, from Hamburg for Bourdeaux, laden with proviſions, copper, &c. carried into Yarmouth roads.

By the Cormorant ſloop and the Rattleſnake cutter: A ſlugger privateer, from Vigo, of 8 ſwivel guns and 85 men.

By the Endymion, &c.: A French ſhip of 300 tons, with ſtores, from Havre to Cherburg, carried into Guernſey.

By the Rambler cutter: The Jambert, from Dram to Breſt, carried into Portſmouth.

By the True Briton and Young Hazard cutters: Two Dutch ſhips and a Swede, laden with naval ſtores, for France, carried into Portſmouth.

By Britiſh privateers.

By the Fame privateer of Dublin: A French brig, valued at upwards of 15,000l. and ſundry other prizes of leſs value.

The Mary, Bonſal, retaken, and carried into Antigua.

By the Tartar, Leyburn, of Liverpool: A French ſnow, laden with ſugar, rum, &c. carried into St Kitts.

By the William, Wignal, of Liverpool: A ſchooner, with lumber, ſent for Liverpool.

By the Pallas privateer of Liverpool: La Anna, from Bourdeaux to St Domingo, laden with flour, beef, pork, wine, &c. carried into Liverpool; and La Victoire, laden with naval ſtores. She is the ſhip which the Apollo frigate had captured out of the French convoy bound to the Eaſt Indies, but was retaken by the Frenchmen left on board.

By the Swiftſure cutter of Folkſtone: The Bartholomew, from Bilboa to Cadiz, with 250 tons of bar-iron, a large quantity of wheat, &c. carried into Liſbon.

By the Achilles, Hawkins, of Folkſtone: The Bemus, Harris, an American letter of marque, of 200 tons, loaded with ſugar, &c. ſent for Falmouth.

By the New Tartar privateer, Capt. Gibſon: La Reine des Anges, laden with ſalt, carried into Falmouth.

By

By the Quebec, Smith, from St Euſtatia to Jamaica: Two prizes, laden with ſugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton, carried into Jamaica.

By the Lord North, Webb, and the Chambers, Langley, both of Briſtol: An American privateer, carried into Barbadoes.

By the Who's Afraid privateer of Liverpool: Two prizes, carried into Jamaica.

By the Admiral Edwards privateer of Dartmouth, Capt. Marden: A Spaniſh packet, from the Havannah to Spain; and the St Anna Experiment, from Corunna for Virginia, laden with ſalt, wine, and bale goods; on board of which was Capt. Cunningham, and ten other captains, going paſſengers to America.

By the Minerva privateer of Jerſey: A French packet, with the mail, from Camarins to Martinico, carried into Penzance.

By the Tamar privateer: The Henriade, a large French ſhip, bound to the Iſle de France, laden with anchors, cables, proviſions, and other articles, with 137 ſoldiers on board, carried into Liſbon.

By the Achilles privateer of Folkſtone: A French ſloop from the Weſt Indies with wounded Frenchmen, carried into Mountſbay.

The Providence, Tonkin, retaken, and carried into Tortola.

By the Unicorn privateer of Folkſtone, Capt. Tapley: La Louiſa, loaded with roſin, pitch, &c; the Notre Dame de Carme, with Spaniſh wool; both ſent for Falmouth; ſunk one with wine, and another with ſalt, of ſmall value.

By the Maidſtone privateer of London: Two ſmall veſſels which ſhe cut out of Malaga, carried into Gibraltar.

By the French, &c.

The Anna Jacobo, Bomico, and the Welverden, Peters, from Oſtend to Genoa and Leghorn, carried into Cadiz.

The Granada galley, Fendal, from New York to the Leeward iſlands, carried into Martinico.

The Succeſs, Dras, from New York to Oporto, carried into Vigo.

The Guſtavus Adolphus, Harriſon, from Falmouth to Leghorn, carried into Cadiz.

The Hoppet, Lindſkod, from Mountſbay to Naples, carried into Algeſiras. The cargo is condemned, but the ſhip is releaſed and the freight paid.

The Roſe, Davis, from Tinmouth to Liſbon, carried into Spain.

The Jennie, Bogle, from the Leeward iſlands to London, carried into France.

The Peter, Byrne, from London to Madeira, ſent for France.

The Philip, Hoare, from St Lucia to London, carried into Morlaix.

The Penelope, Walker, from Quebec to Jamaica, carried into Cape François.

The Speedwell, Aſkew, from Jamaica for New York, carried into Salem.

The Empreſs of Ruſſia privateer of Cheſter, Capt. Briggs, carried into L'Orient.

The Poſtiglione Toſcano, Bellam, from Leghorn to London, carried into Cadiz.

The Friendſhip, Aſhford, from Tinemouth to Portugal, carried into Breſt.

The Buck privateer, Capt. Fagg. She had, in an engagement with a French frigate of 32 guns, 14 men killed and 19 wounded, and 8 feet water in her hold. As ſoon as the priſoners were taken out, the Buck ſunk.

Taken, but whither carried not mentioned: The Sally, Fillet, from Newfoundland to Pool; the Bellona letter of marque; the Counteſs of Clanbraſſil, from New York for London; the Hero, Hodgſon, from London to Chepſtow; the Wallace, Stevenſon, from New York to Jamaica; the Richard and Anne, M'Leod, from Cork.

Taken, but ranſomed: The Wells, Smith, from Limerick to Cowes, for 6300l; the Hillſborough packet, the mail ſunk, for 500l; the Beſborough packet, the mail ſunk, for 400l.; the Nicholas, M'Kurdy, from Corke to Liverpool, for 150 guineas; the Induſtry, from Lymington to Plymouth, for 200 guineas; the Hope, from Yarmouth for Corke, for 1000l.; the Merchant, Watſon, from Lynn, for 350l.

[*To be continued.*]

MARRIAGES.

April 10. At Inchdairney, Fifeſhire, Dr Alexander Eaſon, to Miſs Jane Aytoun, youngeſt daughter of John Aytoun, Eſq; of Inchdairney.

At Glaſgow, Mr William Thom, miniſter of Govan, to Miſs Nancy M'Kechnie, eldeſt daughter of Mr John M'Kechnie merchant in Glaſgow.

20. Mr William Allen merchant in Glaſgow, to Miſs Mary Corbet.

BIRTHS.

March 17. At Venlo, the Lady of Lt-Col. Robert Douglas, in the ſervice of the States-General, of a ſon.

29. At London, Lady Manners, of a daughter.

April 8. At London, the Counteſs of Harrington, of a ſon and heir.

9. At London, the Viſcounteſs Stormont, of a ſon. He was baptized April 28. and named *George*; their Majeſties ſponſors, repreſented by the Duke of Roxburgh and the Counteſs of Hertford, proxies.

8. At Warwick-caſtle, the Counteſs of Warwick, of a ſon.

11. At Balgregg-houſe, the Counteſs-dowager

dowager of Rothes, wife of the Hon. Patrick Maitland, of a ſon.

12. At London, Lady Kinnaird, of a ſon and heir.

DEATHS.

Robert Macbride, a fiſherman, in the iſland of Herries, aged 130 years and ſome months.

March 5. At Antigua, John Anderſon, Eſq; lieutenant and adjutant to the 40th regiment.

In the Weſt Indies, Dr William Bruce, phyſician to the army.

At St Juſt, in Cornwall, Maurice Bingham, aged 116.

At Cheſter-le-ſtreet, Mrs Wilkinſon, aged 107.

At Cheadle, Cheſhire, Edward Shrigley, aged 102.

April 1. At Hawick, John Gladſtains, late of Whitelaw.

4. At Ely, Fifeſhire, Mrs Eliſabeth Cleiland, relict of Mr Wilſon, ſurgeon.

5. At Glaſgow, Mrs Eliſabeth Aird, wife of Mr Archibald M'Gilchriſt, town-clerk of Glaſgow.

8. At Hope Park, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Warrender, widow of Thomas Fairholm, Eſq; late merchant in Edinburgh.

8. At Muſſelburgh, John Lindſay, Eſq; late lieutenant-colonel of the 53d regiment.

9. At Edinburgh, in an advanced age, Lady Iſabella Douglas, eldeſt daughter of William firſt Earl of March.

9. The Rev. David Dickſon of Kilbucho, Eſq; in the 71ſt year of his age.

11. At Pilrig, near Edinburgh, Mrs Balfour of Pilrig.

At Glaſgow, Miſs Chriſtian Briſbane, daughter of the deceaſed Dr Briſbane phyſician in that city.

11. At Dundee, Mrs Eliſabeth Dempſter, wife of David Read of Drumgeith, Eſq;

12. At St Martin's workhouſe, London, Jane Petit, aged 114 years. She had been a pauper upwards of forty years, but had formerly lived in great reputation.

14. At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Inglis, depute-clerk of the bills.

14 At Bath, Sir James Adolphus Oughton, K. B. Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces, commander in chief in North Britain, colonel of the 31ſt regiment, and lieutenant-governor of Antigua.

14. At Kailzie, Mrs Martha Crawford, widow of William Orr, Eſq; of Barrowfield.

15. At Caſtle-Forbes, in the county of Longford, Ireland, George Earl of Granard, a privy counſellor in that kingdom, and a baronet of Nova Scotia. The title and eſtate devolve on his eldeſt ſon George Lord Forbes.

15. At Edinburgh, Mr John Brown, merchant, and late one of the magiſtates of that city.

16. At Lawton, Perthſhire, Mrs Margaret Farquharſon, relict of Mr James Beattie, late miniſter of Maryton.

17. At London, Samuel Thorpe, Eſq; as he was ſitting at breakfaſt.

20. At Phyſgill-houſe, John Hawthorne, Eſq; of Over-Airis

21. At Hopetoun-houſe, Lady Anne Hope, daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

21. At Narrowfield, Berks, Thomas Carter, a labouring man, in the 108th year of his age.

23. At Edinburgh, Mrs Dalrymple, wife of Lord Weſthall.

24. At Knightſbridge, John Nourſe, Eſq; many years bookſeller to his Majeſty.

26. At Bainfield, near Edinburgh, Lord Charles Gordon, ſecond ſon of Alexander Duke of Gordon, and uncle of the preſent Duke.

26. At Edinburgh, Mrs Barbara Walkinſhaw, daughter of John Walkinſhaw, Eſq; of Barrowfield.

26. At Meiklewood, David Graham, Eſq; of Meiklewood.

Near Leeds, Yorkſhire, Joſhua Simpſon, Eſq; in the 104th year of his age.

At Wynchcomb, in the county of Reading, James Pratt, a labourer, in his 113th year.

28. At his houſe in the iſland of Mull, Mr Neil Macleod, miniſter of Roſs.

28. At Cavers, Alexander Douglas, Eſq; youngeſt brother of the Rev. Dr James Douglas of Cavers.

30. At Weſt-Mill farm, Hampſhire, Mr Thomas Dickens, a farmer, in the 105th year of his age. His wife died laſt year, aged 98.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

April 5. to appoint the Hon. John Trevor to be his Majeſty's Miniſter-Plenipotentiary to the Elector Palatine, and Miniſter to the Diet of Ratiſbon.

— 8. to grant unto Ralph Bigland the younger, Eſq; Rouge Dragon Purſuivant of Arms, the office of Richmond Herald, vacant by the promotion of Peter Dore, Eſq;

— 18. to order letters-patent to paſs under the great ſeal appointed by the treaty of union to be kept in Scotland, in place of the great ſeal thereof, ratifying and confirming the ancient rights and privileges by the judges in favour of the procurators in Edinburgh, and erecting them into a corporation or body-politic, by the name and ſtyle of *The Society of Solicitors before the Commiſſary, Sheriff, and City Courts of Edinburgh.*

— 19 to

19. to confer the honour of Knighthood on Richard Pearſon, Eſq; Captain in the royal navy. [41. 564.]

Ships of war commiſſioned, or new captains appointed. [112.]

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Victory	110	S. W. Clayton
Princeſs Royal	90	H. Harmood
Namur	90	Herb. Sawyer
Gibraltar (*Phœnix*)	80	Sir T. Rich, Bt
Invincible	74	Hon. Geo. Falconer
Bellona	74	Rich. Onſlow
Suffolk	74	Ab. Creſpin
Torbay	74	J. L. Gidoin
Egmont	74	R. Fanſhaw
Reſolution *	74	Lord R. Manners
Grafton *	74	T. Newnham
Edgar *	74	E. Gower
Thunderer *	74	R. Boyle Nicholas
Vengeance *	74	J. Holloway
Conqueror	74	T. Watſon
Boyne	70	C. Cotton
Diligente	70	J. Gell
Princeſſa	70	W. Peacock
Monarcha	70	C. Saxton
Vigilant	64	Sir Geo. Hume, Bt
Prothée	64	C. Buckner
Nonſuch	64	Sir James Wallace
Prince William	64	Stair Douglas
Aſſurance	44	Ja. Cumming
Minerva	40	C. Fielding
Flora	40	W. P. Williams
Danae	34	S. Graves
Alarm	32	Sir Rd Pearſon
Fox	32	Hon. T. Windſor
Diana	32	Hon. H. S. Conway
Dedalus	32	T. Pringle
Aurora	28	H. Colins
Enterprize	28	P. Leſley
Mercury	28	If. Preſcott
Porcupine	24	Sir C. H. Knowles, Bt
Amphytrite	24	R. Biggs
Galatea	24	Ja. Reid
Daphne	20	Lord Hervey
Scarborough	20	W. H. K. O'Hara
Rover	18	J. T. Duckworth
Shark	16	If. Vaillant
Jamaica	14	R. Deans
Nimrod	14	J. P. Ardeſoiſe
Star	14	Ja. Dickenſon
Fort Royal	14	Hon. T. Pakenham
Childers	14	Hon J. W. Chetwynd
Fairy	14	Hon. G. Berkeley
Salamander {fire-ſhips}	16	Hon. Seym. Finch
Blaſt {fire-ſhips}	16	Geo. Bowen
Ranger armed ſhip	32	Hugh Baikie
Rattleſnake cutter	12	J. M'Lawrin

* *Captains Sir Chaloner Ogle, Thomas Collingwood, John Elliot, Hon. Robert Boyle Walſingham, and William Hotham, commanders of the ſhips marked thus *, are now appointed Commodores, with captains under them.*

Staff in North America.

Surgeon John M'Namara Hayes to be Phyſician to the General Hoſpital.

William Wood, Hoſpital Mate to be Surgeon to the Garriſon of Providence, vice John Maſſey.

[*To be continued.*]

Prices of grain at Haddington, May 12. 1780.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	16s. 6d.	15s. 9d.	14s. 0d.
Bear,	11s. 0d.	10s. 0d.	9s. 0d.
Oats,	10s. 3d.	9s. 0d.	8s. 2d.
Peaſe,	8s. 0d.	7s. 4d.	6s. 8d.

Edinburgh, May 18. 1780. Oat-meal, 8d. 2 f. Bear-meal, 5 d. Peaſe-meal, 5 d.

Burials in the Grayfriars church-yard, Edinburgh, in April 1780.

Males 34
Females 36
} 70. Decreaſed 10.

Age.	N°	Diſeases.	N°
Under 2	20	Aged	5
Between 2 & 5	8	Bowelhive	2
5 & 10	6	Cancer	1
10 & 20	4	Chincough	6
20 & 30	5	Childbed	1
30 & 40	4	Cholic	1
40 & 50	4	Conſumption	24
50 & 60	6	Fever	13
60 & 70	8	Hyſterics	1
70 & 80	3	Meaſles	1
80 & 90	2	Small pox	3
		Stillborn	6
		Teething	6

PRICES of STOCKS.

April 14.

Bank Stock, 112 1 half.
India ditto, 154 3 4ths a 1 half a 156.
South Sea New Ann. 59 5 8ths.
3 per cent. Bk. red. 59 7 8ths a 8 8th.
3 per cent. Conſ. 60 3 4ths a 4 8th.
3 1 half per cent. 1758, 60 7 8ths a 61.
4 per cent. Conſ. 1762, 59 3 4ths a 7 8th.
4 per cent. Conſ. 1777, 73 5 8ths a 3 4ths.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 11 1 8th a 1 4th.
Long Annuities, 16 3 4ths.
Scrip. 75 3 4ths a 5 8ths.
Omnium 7 7 8ths a 3 4ths Pr.
Annuities 1778, 12 3-16 a 1 4th
Lottery Tickets, 13 l. 11s. 6d.

April 27.

South Sea Old Ann. 58 1 8th a 1 4th.
3 per cent. Bk. red. 59 1 half a 1 4th.
3 per cent. Conſ. 60 1 half a 5 8ths
4 per cent. Conſ. 1762, 59 1 half a 1 4th.
4 per cent. 1777, 73 1 8th a 1 4th.
India bonds, — 23 s. pr.
Long annuities, 16 5 8ths.
Scrip. 75 1 8th.
Omnium 7 1 8th.
Annuities 1778, 12 1 4th a 5-16th.
Lottery Tickets, 13 l. 10s. 6d.